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The Acquisition of Manuscripts by
Institutional Libraries*

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IT was explained to me that what was required as an address at the annual meeting was not so much a set paper as some introductory remarks to which a reply could be made, and which might perhaps lead to some discussion. It happened that I had been reading the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* on Sir Frederic Madden, probably the ablest, and almost certainly the most disagreeable, Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum. Madden died in 1873 and the D.N.B. account of him was written by Richard Garnett, who had been his colleague at the Museum. In general the notice seems to me to be a fair appraisal of Madden's achievements, but I was particularly struck by one phrase in it. "He was indefatigable," wrote Garnett, "in amassing manuscript material, much of which remains unused." It seems to me that there is a note of implied criticism here, although it is difficult to be sure; and indeed if there is a criticism, we need not make too much of it. Garnett was Superintendent of the Museum's Reading Room, where every book had to justify by use the inches of shelfroom allotted to it; and Madden had in his lifetime been sufficiently critical of the workings of the Department of Printed Books to invite some mild riposte. But Garnett's phrase does, I think, suggest consideration of what sort of poli-

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cies, if any, should dictate the acquisition of manuscripts by institutional libraries, and especially of what are the most sensible fields for librarians, and indeed private collectors as well, to operate in today. I am very conscious of raising many more questions than I answer and of producing an untidy tangle of loose ends.

The briefest reflection on the history of institutional collections of manuscripts will confirm the fact that the great majority of libraries, even ones which have a lively tradition of purchasing printed books, expected to be *given* manuscripts. Of course the great blocks of manuscripts in the British Museum which bear the honorable names of Cotton, Harley, and Sloane were bought for the British nation and at Oxford the Bodleian Library has had from the seventeenth century onwards a proud record of self-help in the matter of manuscript acquisitions. But these are exceptions. At my own University, Cambridge, which has a more than respectable collection of medieval manuscripts, nearly all the most famous of them have been gifts. In fact my friend, Mr. J. C. T. Oates, who is at present writing the history of the University Library, tells me that it seems doubtful whether Cambridge actually paid good money for a manuscript until 1785, when the University Librarian, Richard Farmer, better known as a Shakespearian scholar, attended Leigh and Sotheby's sale of the manuscripts of Anthony Askew and bought a number of them, mostly Greek, for the University's collection. This episode, however, cannot be said to have initiated any consistent buying policy, since it was nearly another hundred years before Cambridge University Library, under the direction of Henry Bradshaw, began to make modest but regular purchases in this field. It is interesting, but to me rather painful, to contrast this apathy with the policy of the Bodleian, admittedly very much better endowed, where for example in 1817 the then unprecedented sum of £5,444 was laid out on the Canonici manuscripts. The fact remains that most of the groups of manuscripts in institutional hands, many bearing world-famous names—Archbishop Parker, Samuel Pepys, Tanner, Rawlinson, Gale, and so on—were given or bequeathed by private collectors. And this is natural enough. A collection of manuscripts is unique in a sense which no collection of printed books, however complete or rare, can ever be; and therefore it is especially likely that the collector will take measures to safeguard it

from dispersal. But what seems to me unnatural, or at any rate disappointing, is the small extent to which institutions founded for and dedicated to the encouragement of learning should have taken active steps (the wooing of benefactors apart) to amass what by general consensus of opinion must be considered as the highest source of scholarly advancement. Scholars, however, as the late E. P. Goldschmidt used to remark more in sorrow than in anger, have no money; and librarians, who sometimes have a little, though not of course their own, tend to be shy about the purchase of manuscripts. In a characteristically cynical and witty passage in one of his lectures Goldschmidt attributed this shyness to the fact that manuscripts, unlike *incunabula*, editions of Boyle, and so on, had no reassuring reference numbers; and it is certainly easier for a librarian to fill known gaps in a series than to chance his arm on the probably less familiar ground of paleography or text criticism. But if Goldschmidt thought that paleographers and other scholars concerned with manuscripts were immune from the hypnotic effect of reference numbers he was mistaken. I well recall a visit from Mrs. Silva Lake, who made some notes on a Greek lectionary of mine. "What is its number?" she asked. When I said it hadn't got one her face fell. "How can I describe it if it hasn't got a number?" she said. "Please give it one straight away." I explained that I only owned half a dozen manuscripts and that it really seemed absurdly pretentious to label my book "Munby MS 3," but it was only with the greatest reluctance that she acquiesced in my refusal. Her attitude sprang, I think, partly from a point of view which I have observed with interest in scholars, in English scholars especially. This is a kind of reluctance to concede that books and manuscripts in private hands, and not tidily garnered into an institution, really exist at all; and I quite see that the fact of my numberless manuscript being in the private possession of a librarian must have tried Mrs. Lake pretty hard. But I am straying from my point, which is that in general most libraries do not acquire manuscripts as energetically as printed books.

In the remarks which follow I am thinking primarily of the smaller institution or the private collector whose purse is not bottomless. A library such as the British Museum or that of one of the greatest British or American Universities has of necessity a staff of trained paleographers and established collections upon which to build. And

if, as they probably do, they follow strength and reinforce holdings which are already distinguished, this at least makes sense. But the problem of the smaller institutions is very different. If they are ancient they may have miscellaneous inherited collections; are these to remain static? And if they are modern, should they not systematically acquire at least some of the materials of original research according to their means, or even a series of exhibits in the field of medieval manuscripts or literary autographs to inculcate some sense of the past into their arts men?

Let me deal with an older institution first, and because I naturally know it best I hope you will forgive me if I take as an example the library of which I happen to be in charge, that of King's College, Cambridge. We have about thirty miscellaneous medieval manuscripts, one textually and one calligraphically distinguished, but otherwise a scratch lot. Our medieval library, like that of nearly all Oxford and Cambridge colleges, melted away in the middle of the sixteenth century and we have had no Parker or Pepys to make good the deficiency. We have, however, a group of over two hundred and fifty Persian and Arabic manuscripts given by a Fellow of the College in 1788, a slight embarrassment to us as we have no orientalist on our very small library staff, a deficiency we have sought to make good by electing to membership of our High Table the University Lecturer in Persian. In the literary field we own nearly all the poetical manuscripts of Rupert Brooke, another Fellow; we naturally have much material concerned with the history of the College during the last five hundred years; we have several blocks of modern papers, the most interesting perhaps being those of Roger Fry, the art critic; and in the Keynes bequest of 1945 we received a really important and substantial collection of the papers of Sir Isaac Newton. And we have, what a surprising number of libraries also have, one of those tantalizing crates of papers to be opened about the year 2000. What are we consciously seeking to add to this very mixed bag? The answer, to our shame, is almost nothing except some modest purchases of autograph material of our own distinguished *alumni*, a task not made easier by the fact that one of the most distinguished of them all was Horace Walpole. And yet—with staggering generosity—Mr. Lewis has sent me a Walpole manuscript for King's. I don't suppose he likes to be reminded of it (he remarked

at the time that it was like having a tooth drawn); but I almost feel, to paraphrase a speech of Churchill's—"if the library of King's endures a thousand years, men will still say—that was its finest hour."

Luckily this regrettable picture of our sloth and apathy in the acquisition of manuscripts has one ameliorating aspect. There are in the University of Cambridge about eighty other libraries, and in the aggregate they can offer its own graduate research students, and indeed visiting scholars, a reasonably rich field of material both medieval and modern. But if we were, let us suppose, a recently founded University, remote from other great libraries, how could we spend money on manuscripts advantageously today? And if we were going to encourage a benefactor to build a collection on our behalf, what sort of gift would we hope ultimately to receive?

There are three groups of manuscripts which I propose very briefly to discuss—medieval; collections of historical papers, both ancient and modern; and a few words on literary manuscripts. All three of course overlap, but my main divisions will, I hope, be plain.

Given the means—and nowadays they must be really substantial—it is still just possible to form a first-class collection of medieval illuminated manuscripts today: but I am bold enough to prophesy that some unforeseen catalysm apart which might put onto the market institutional possessions, this is the last generation for which this will be possible, at any price at all. The recent dispersal of Sir Sydney Cockerell's manuscripts, the rich treasures, with more to come, from Mr. Dyson Perrins's collection, the question mark which hangs over the still very rich residue of the Phillipps collection, the noble stocks at present in the hands of two or three of the greatest dealers—all these will indicate that, if money were no object, one or two institutions or collectors, with bottomless purses, could by resolute action still acquire a significant holding of the most aristocratic possession to which a library can aspire, the picture books of the middle ages; and the same could not be said today of Caxtons or Shakespeare quartos. But very recently (really only in the last three or four years) the cost of fine medieval manuscripts decorated with first-class miniatures has moved out of the world of book prices into the quite different scale of values which prevails in the picture market.

This was well exemplified in the Dyson Perrins sale of 1958 when

£39,000 was cheerfully paid for the Helmerhausen Gospels, a twelfth-century manuscript with four large miniatures and other decoration. As recently as 1948 I would have valued this book, perhaps wrongly, at between £5,000 and £10,000. This sharp rise in price should not occasion any great astonishment. In fact, on reflection, the surprising aspect of the matter is the extraordinary difference in value which has prevailed in the past between the most modest piece of medieval easel-painting and the often far finer treasures of book-painting. For example, looking back on it, it was really ludicrous that a manuscript of such caliber as the Evesham Psalter, sold at Sotheby's in 1936, containing a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion which all authorities agreed was one of the masterpieces of thirteenth-century painting, should have realized so modest a sum as £2,400. Some time ago I was going through M. R. James's papers and I found a telegram from Dr. Eric Millar, announcing its acquisition at that price by the British Museum—a triumphant telegram, and no wonder.

But these days have gone for good and the new assessment—and perhaps, as I say, a far truer one—of the value of such books makes it seem to me doubtful whether the libraries of institutions dedicated to learning ought to buy them, even if the funds were available. For I believe that for £39,000 could be bought material of infinitely greater scholarly significance.

It seems to me that, works of art apart, medieval manuscripts are still not expensive, and that, seen in retrospect, twenty years ago they were very cheap indeed. There are few more refined forms of self-torture than the reading of old priced sale catalogues, not of the remote past but of a period when one could have attended the sale in question. As recently as the Phillipps sale of 1935 a fifteenth-century text of Martial on vellum, signed by its Italian scribe, realized £18. The textual or calligraphic manuscripts of the Renaissance have shot upwards in value, and if the matter is viewed dispassionately it was high time. For their value had hardly increased to any significant degree over the previous century and a half. I had occasion recently in connection with some work on Sir Thomas Phillipps to trace the sale-room history of a fifteenth-century text on vellum of the *De gestis Romanorum* of Hercules Brunus. In 1785 Michael Wodhull bought it for sixteen shillings at the sale of Anthony Askew's manuscripts; when

Wodhull discarded it in 1803 Heber bought it for six shillings and sixpence; at his sale in 1836 Phillipps acquired it for ten shillings; in 1899 Phillipps's grandson, Thomas FitzRoy Fenwick, put it into Sotheby's but bought it in for fourteen shillings; he included it, however, in the next Phillipps sale of 1903 when Sir Sydney Cockerell ventured twenty-seven shillings on it, only eleven shillings more than it realized in the Askew sale one hundred and sixteen years before. This was the class of manuscript which was still to be bought on occasion for under, sometimes considerably under, £100 between the wars; and if it now costs nearer £500, who is to say that this is unreasonable?

If I were responsible today for building up a small collection of medieval manuscripts to serve the needs of a young University, I would first assemble a group of single leaves and fragments of as many styles and periods of writing that I could, including papyri, many of which seem to me to be very cheap indeed. There is, however, one exception. In the last year or two single leaves of vellum manuscripts of the sixth to the eighth centuries have become very expensive but by diligence and a reasonable share of good luck it would not be impossible to build a series of say one hundred leaves and fragments of MSS from the ninth century onwards, illustrating the development of the national scripts, of book, diplomatic, and legal hands, which would be of the greatest value to anyone concerned with the teaching of paleography. For although of course facsimiles must always be the main source of paleographical instruction, the handling of originals can give rise to excitement in certain pupils, which no photographs, however excellent, can provide. To reinforce this collection I would try to acquire a dozen or so typical complete medieval books from the twelfth century onwards, mainly for their interest as physical objects upon which could be demonstrated format, the gathering of quires, ruling, signatures, catchwords, foliation, interlinear glossing, rubrication, sewing, binding, press-marking, and the other attributes which a young medievalist should, but so often does not, have brought to his attention. If a benefactor came forward with a few examples of fine illumination and miniature painting, so much the better; but in the present state of the market I do not think that I should spend my library grant on them. If, on top of this, funds were available to add a handful of

medieval manuscripts to the collection each year I should unhesitatingly go for *texts*, and texts if possible which still offered some potentialities for research.

I turned up a year or two ago in the Bodleian Library a memorandum drawn up by the Biblical scholar, William Sanday, in 1891. The occasion was a joint attempt (which came to nothing) by Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum to buy £25,000 worth of manuscripts by private treaty from the Phillipps collection. In both Universities various experts prepared lists of those manuscripts which it seemed desirable to them to attempt to purchase, and Sanday's task was to make a selection in the field of Biblical and Patristic literature. He interwove into his list, however, some general reflections on the principles which should underlie the acquisition of manuscripts, and though most of them are generally accepted today, they seem to me to be so sound as to be worth repeating. He began by stating that the University should not confine its purchase to a few choice manuscripts, but that "money would be better expended in a quantity of comparatively low-priced MSS than in the purchase of a few at higher prices." Sanday went on to point to what he called "work which is likely to receive the greatest development in the near future, the defining more clearly than has hitherto been done the character and extent of local schools of writing." Having given some examples of current work in this field both in Greek and Latin paleography he added, "I submit therefore that the value of a MS is greatly enhanced if it bears a signature which may serve in any way to fix either the date or place of origin. I believe that this fact alone would make a MS worth possessing if it were older than the 14th century." Today we should obviously extend Sanday's terminal date by a couple of centuries. The importance of signed, dated, and localized manuscripts has of course been widely appreciated during the last fifty years. Sir Sydney Cockerell in England and the late Grenville Kane in the United States are typical of collectors who were swift to grasp this important point. Many fifteenth-century examples, however, are still not at all expensive, and seem to me to be very well worth buying.

Sanday's next point is really a corollary of the above. "It is a characteristic feature of the Phillipps Collection," he wrote, "that it includes portions of a number of monastic libraries, especially Flemish,

which can be traced to their origin. I think that the Bodleian should aim at possessing some representative volumes from each of these libraries." Then he goes on to deal with textual matters, pointing out first that the works of the greater Latin fathers and schoolmen are in general so common that their purchase is hardly to be recommended, except where they precede the tenth century in date or have some special feature of interest. He continued:

In regard to the other literature, I suppose it will be agreed that those works are most valuable which are most likely to contain grains of historical fact or at least illustrations of social life at the period to which they belong. For this reason I have paid special attention to *Vitae*, *Vitae Sanctorum*, *Passiones*, *Martyrologia*. I have set down these without very much regard to date, as the later collections often make up for their inferior date by the number of their biographies; and though all doubtless contain a very large proportion of chaff, it is difficult to tell beforehand where the really historical material will be found. Any purchases in literature of this kind must be a matter of speculation; and it would therefore not be worth while to give high prices; at the same time if the prices are not high, valuable material may be obtained for the criticism of the future to exercise itself upon. The Bollandists have shown what may be done; and there are in this collection, as well as I can judge, MSS quite on a par with those of the Bollandists.

And then he goes on to recommend especially the purchase on speculative grounds of manuscripts with miscellaneous contents.

Sanday was of course trying to pick out of some fifty thousand manuscripts a selection which would be of value to an institution which already owned many thousands; but I think that his principles were, and still are, perfectly sound and of wide application. From a paleographical standpoint, go if possible for manuscripts which have named scribes, dates, and places, and from a textual standpoint avoid the standard works and concentrate on the lesser known writings. This may seem to be a crashing platitude to have crossed the Atlantic to deliver, but the odd thing is that sale-room prices seldom appear to reflect much awareness of the textual value of a manuscript, and in fact the book-sellers who know or care much about such things are comparatively few; but, one should add, they are increasing in number fast.

The most common, and to me the dullest, medieval manuscripts on the market are the third-rate Books of Hours mass-produced in a

commercial scriptorium during the fifteenth century, their miniatures and decoration slavishly copied from originals of a low order of artistic merit. Some of them have a certain gaudy appeal, which normally inflates their value to sums, in my opinion, far in excess of their real worth; and unless they have some feature of unusual interest, liturgical let us say, then I do not think they merit buying—except perhaps one or two purely as specimens of what were the most widely used secular devotional books of the late middle ages.

Medieval manuscripts in general however still provide a field in which a scholarly librarian, well advised by specialists in the faculties of history, classics, and modern languages, can lay out money to excellent advantage. He must remember of course, that the full value of a manuscript may well not emerge until a scholar has worked for a considerable period upon it; and from this point of view his purchases, as Sanday said, must often be “speculations”; and none the worse for that.

Let us now turn to collections of historical papers. Any institution concerned with historical research needs such material, and moreover as its older deposits become mined out by the picks of successive Ph.D. candidates it is important that fresh strata should be laid down as occasion arises. Some of the most rewarding purchases which have been made in the auction room have been made in this field. Let me give an example. In 1939 Lord Brougham and Vaux consigned the papers of his famous ancestor the first Lord Brougham to Messrs. Sotheby for sale. I am painfully well qualified to speak of their extent and interest because amid constant interruptions from the increasingly insistent demands of Territorial military service I struggled to catalogue the contents of the twenty great crates. Trestle-tables covered with papers entirely filled Sotheby's large gallery in Bond Street. There were at least fifty thousand letters addressed to Lord Brougham, as well as great masses of other material, and their value for historians seemed to me to be enormous, since Brougham played a leading part in all the great issues of his day, the trial of Queen Caroline, the antislavery legislation, the Reform Bill, the foundation of the University of London, the growth of the Mechanics' Institutes, popular education, and a score of other themes. Here, I thought, even in these unpropitious times is an archive which will prove irresistible to

half a dozen institutions: this is the material out of which the reputations of Faculties of History can be made—a definitive biography of Brougham (for none existed) by the Professor and a dozen really rewarding Ph.D. subjects for his most able research students. My promotional efforts were a total fiasco, and that exceptionally discriminating collector, the late C. K. Ogden, was able to buy the whole lot for what I still think was the derisory sum of £205. They are now, thanks to the generosity of the Nuffield Foundation, at University College, London.

Various factors in Great Britain have made it likely that in the future fewer of such archives will be exposed to the hazards of the auction room. The British Records Association, the National Register of Archives, and similar bodies exist for the purpose of aiding owners embarrassed by family papers to place them on deposit in Record Offices where they will be properly cared for and made available for scholarly consultation; and many owners have shown great public spirit in making such deposits and thereby accepting the financial sacrifices which this policy entails. I need only instance the exceptionally important and valuable Fitzwilliam papers deposited by the family in Sheffield City Libraries in 1949. But sufficient of such material passes through the dealers' hands to justify one comment. One should always buy, if possible, items which are entities and have some cohesion in themselves. It is deceptively easy to fritter away money on superficially attractive fragments of archives, which divorced from the main body of the collection have little potentialities for research. One certainly cannot blame auctioneers for fulfilling their duty to their clients by seeking to make their property fetch as much money as possible; and if a collection of family papers is likely to sell better when broken into a hundred lots then the chances are that they will be catalogued thus for sale. In nine cases out of ten however the results, from a historical standpoint, are to be deplored. There was some very interesting correspondence on this subject in *The Times* in March 1947. Lord Greene, the Master of the Rolls, wrote to deplore the breaking up for auction into forty-five different lots of the three volumes of Braye Stuart papers which had been arranged and calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1887. His main point was to underline the historical damage of such dispersal and to express the

hope, in his own words, "that owners would regard the break-up of their collections as an extreme step only to be taken in cases of absolute necessity." To this letter the late G. D. Hobson, as Chairman of Sotheby's, wrote a reply. Hobson was an exceptionally able and honorable man but by implication Sotheby's had come under criticism, and he felt it his duty to make as convincing a reply as he could. His main point, which seemed to me insupportable, was that whereas dispersal might prove what he called "a short-term handicap to students" in the long run this "temporary disturbance" would lead to a "more logical distribution and a full publication of records." The late Sir Edmund Craster took him up sharply on this point in a further letter. "Mr. Hobson," he wrote, "talks of a more logical distribution; but it is precisely the fact that the chances of purchases (that is of the sale-room) sever natural affiliations, that produces a grouping far less logical and far less intelligible. What is more, they actually destroy historical evidence; for documents taken out of their original setting because of their saleable value—or even more because of the want of it—lose their significance when taken in isolation. It is not the difficulty in tracing individual items which is so much in question, but the fact that, until the scattered elements are reconstituted, the organism to which they belonged remains imperfect and so can be but imperfectly understood."

It seems to me that a complete archive should be worth the value of the sum of its components, plus a substantial bonus for its completeness; and that this consideration ought to be reflected in the prices which collections of papers realize under the hammer. And, moreover, by scaling up our bids for complete collections and scaling them down pretty drastically for the *disjecta membra* of historical archives we should be applying a forcible argument to auctioneers and owners for their sale as entities. Where such collections are catalogued for sale in a number of lots it is perfectly possible to instruct one's agent to ask the auctioneer if he will sell the collection *en bloc*; and, in the event of a refusal, to bid sparingly or not at all for the components. The owner can after all put a reserve on the complete collection and only if it fails to fetch this figure need the desperate recourse to dispersal be made. I am not so otherworldly as to think that the education of auctioneers on this subject will be speedy or ever complete; but by

offering more for completeness and less for fragments we can perhaps in time do our part in reversing what all historians will agree is a distressing trend in modern sale-room practice.

There are, of course, many exceptions to the above remarks. It could be argued for instance, that if an historical figure was ambassador both to China and to Peru, two completely different institutions in different countries would derive the maximum of historical benefit from the ownership of parts of his papers; and librarians can satisfy their collecting instincts very advantageously by the rebuilding of archives which have already been dispersed or by the creation of new *fonds* by the intelligent purchasing of small groups of miscellaneous material. There seems indeed to me to be one significant trend in mid-twentieth-century collecting; I mean the emergence of a few collectors, such as Mr. James M. Osborn, to whom period, subject matter, and many other attributes are subordinated to the potential research value of their purchases, and we owe so much to these collectors and institutions which by piecemeal purchases have built up magnificent quarries of specialized research material that it is difficult wholly to deplore some of the dispersals of the past. All I ask is that we should be chary about being accessories to *unnecessary* dispersals in the future.

And what of modern historical papers? We live today in an age when statesmen, politicians, and military commanders seem to be acutely conscious of their potential interest to posterity. With the aid of an orderly secretary it is possible for any man on the very fringes of affairs of state to accumulate a mass of material which few executors are brave enough to destroy, even if they have been given no specific testamentary instructions on its disposal; and there are of course many blocks of papers of the highest importance for the historiography of the future. My own feeling about the acquisition of such material, by purchase or by gift, is that this function is best fulfilled by the greatest institutional libraries, and in general not by those of the smaller universities and colleges. I base this view not on the fact that such modern archives are often formidably bulky, nor on the grounds that the work involved in processing such papers and making them fit for use by readers is often a very heavy burden on a library with a comparatively small staff. These two factors, however, should be given more consideration before acceptance or purchase than they often seem to re-

ceive today. My main reason for wishing such burdens onto the largest libraries is the problem involved over access. In Great Britain a large collection of recent military or political papers will probably contain material to which public access is denied under the Official Secrets Act of 1911. They will certainly have in them much material to which the Government would wish to apply what is known as the "Foreign Office Rule," an arrangement whereby official papers are not open for general inspection until the lapse of fifty years; and they will also certainly contain a mass of correspondence the copyright of which is still vested in the individual writers of letters, many of whom are probably living. The responsibility of the custodian of such papers is ill-defined in English law, but their ownership may well involve time-consuming perplexities. In a large department of manuscripts, where much similar material is housed, an elaborate code of conduct for the use of such papers can be evolved and perhaps responsibility for its enforcement delegated to a particular member of the staff. To a private owner, or to the librarian of an institution not geared to the handling of such material, a single group of official papers can be something of an embarrassment: I can think, for example, of the Milner papers at New College, Oxford.

The papers of eminent men of letters, recently dead, often present comparable difficulties, and I was particularly interested to see that an American scholar, Mr. Norman Holmes Pearson, addressed the English Institute on the *Problems of Literary Executorship* in 1951. Many of you will doubtless be familiar with his lecture printed in Vol. V of *Studies in Bibliography*. For the British librarian the question of copyright is the main problem. His institution often holds the physical ownership of manuscript material which can only be published and occasionally only be consulted by permission of some outside depositor, an arrangement which can work excellently but nevertheless is inherently unsatisfactory. "Living as I do in charge of a large library," wrote Henry Bradshaw to Halliwell in 1869, "all I find is instantly at the service of my neighbours." This is just what many librarians cannot say today. Ideally all material in all libraries should be freely available to all scholars; and it is in my view axiomatic that a librarian should never put himself into the position of having to adjudicate upon visiting scholars' credentials and decide that whereas Professor X

can be allowed access, Professor Y must be denied. The recently dead evoke in their surviving friends and disciples passionate loyalties and intensely proprietary attitudes; and the librarian round whose papers the battles ebb and surge must do his best to remain aloof. I hope I do not betray too shamefully my preference for a quiet life when I confess that on several occasions recently I have opened the *Times Literary Supplement* and thanked my stars that I am *not* the custodian of A. E. Housman's manuscripts.

From time to time some heart-searching on the aims and achievements of our institutional collecting of manuscripts is salutary. Opportunity, funds, benefactions, pressure from one or other of the faculties or from a member of the staff with special enthusiasms—all these factors can play their part in determining how our collections of manuscripts expand. Their expansion on sound and scholarly lines, however, cannot be achieved without a good deal of thought from us all.

Thomas Thorpe, Publisher of "Shake-Speares Sonnets"

By LEONA ROSTENBERG

*"O let my books be then the eloquence
And dumb presagers of my speaking brest."*

WHEN Mrs. Page in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* censoriously alludes to the "printer who cares not what he puts into the press," her creator, William Shakespeare, could scarcely have referred to a London stationer who was to immortalize his own name through his service to the poet. The intricate association of Thomas Thorpe with the work of Shakespeare has tantalized scholars. Thorpe's publication of the first edition of the *Sonnets*, with its mysterious dedication, has evoked the speculation of the foremost Shakespeareans. The celebrated lines to "Mr. W.H." have arrayed in battle the champions of Southampton and Pembroke and the defenders of the numerous claimants to the dedication. A study of the career of Thomas Thorpe cannot remain *hors de combat*. Although the material for his life is scant and sketchy, an attempt will be made to reanimate the role of a Jacobean stationer who published many of the most notable contemporary plays and masques, as well as the first edition of the most perfect sonnets in the English tongue.

Thomas Thorpe, Jr., was born in Barnet, Middlesex, England, about 1569. He was the son of an innkeeper and appears to have sought his fortune in London during the summer of 1584, when he was apprenticed to a stationer, Richard Watkins, for the customary period of nine years. Watkins, until the close of the century, enjoyed an estimable position in the stationers' ranks. He was Warden of the Company and twice its Master. His premises were situated at Little Conduit, Cheapside, where he conducted an active trade as publisher and bookseller. Here Thorpe, in the company of several apprentices—Walter Burre, Stephen Mason, Thomas Smith, and others—could

learn the rudiments of his future profession. Watkins' publications included new works in grammar, cartography, and astrology, subjects which interested the Elizabethan world of learning, exploration, and divination.¹

Young Thorpe was admitted as a freeman to the Stationers' Company on 4 Feb. 1593/94. His activity for the following six years is unknown. He may have been associated with several publishing ventures and have chosen to cloak his ventures in anonymity. It is certain that during this period he had won the friendship of several publishers; prominent among these was Edward Blount at the Sign of the Black Bear, St. Paul's Churchyard. Blount is forever distinguished not only as the publisher of important Elizabethan works but also as one of the four partners in the publication of the First Folio Edition of Shakespeare's plays.²

Blount was admitted to the Stationers' Company six years before Thorpe. In 1588 he had concluded his term of apprenticeship with William Ponsonby and six years later published his first work, *The Profitt of Imprisonment* by Joshua Sylvester. This was to be followed in 1598 by *A Worlde of Wordes* of John Florio, a gentleman who appears to have exercised a profound influence upon Thorpe's career. Blount's numerous publications followed in rapid succession.³

Blount was no mere trade publisher. He was a man of literary instinct and appreciation. He refers to himself as a friend of the late Christopher Marlowe who dared, when all vilified the character of the dead poet, to publish his *Hero and Leander*, prefacing the work with an eloquent dedication to Sir Thomas Walsingham. In his introduction to Lyly's *Euphues*, issued several years later, he expressed his appreciation of the author's work: "Our nation are in his debt, for a new

¹ For Thorpe, see *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1909), xix, 803; R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . 1557-1640* (London, 1910), p. 265. For Watkins, see E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London, 1905), p. 166; Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.* (London, 1875), II, 124, 148, 165, 184, 484, 501, 558, 565, 635.

² Arber II, 713.

³ For Blount, see *Dictionary of National Biography* II, 708; Sidney Lee, "An Elizabethan Bookseller," in *Bibliographica* (London, 1895), I, 474ff.; McKerrow, p. 39. A. W. Pollard and G. W. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . . 1475-1640* (London, 1946), does not cite the work by Sylvester; for Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes*, STC 11098.

English which hee taught them. Euphues and His England began first that language . . . Thou shalt say, Few (or None) of our Poets, now are such witty companions."⁴

A man of Blount's literary associations and perception could well have exercised a beneficent influence upon his younger colleague. Blount was not to be disappointed in his affection for Thorpe; in the dedication to the first work associated with his name, Thorpe addressed the volume "To His Kind and Trve Friend: Edward Blvnt," to whom he pledged himself "in all rites of perfect friendship." This first publication bearing Thorpe's name appears to have been procured through Blount's patronage. There is evidence in the Register of the Stationers' Company that Blount, who had issued Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, had also received the copyright to the late poet's translation of the *First Book of Lucan's Pharsalia*. Blount, however, did not publish this work. There is indication that he either sold or gave the manuscript to Thorpe, who arranged for its publication. In 1600 *Lucans First Booke translated line for line, by Chr. Marlow* was printed at London by Peter Short and sold at the sign of the Flower de Luce, St. Paul's, by Walter Burre.⁵

The publication of the *First Book of Lucan* perhaps marks Thorpe's formal entry into London publishing ranks. The epistle dedicatory to his "Trve Friend: Edward Blvnt" signalizes his own literary debut. It leaves little doubt that during the preceding years Thorpe had carefully scrutinized the English literary scene and had observed the servile state of the author and publisher whose very livelihood depended upon the mercurial whims of a capricious, shallow benefactor. The Epistle, enlivened by his somewhat bumptious humor, reveals his knowledge of human frailty, and his description of an Elizabethan patron antedates the more acerb, brilliant portrait of his Georgian counterpart drawn by Johnson a century and a half later.

Unwilling to forego a pun, Thorpe proposed to be "blunt" with

⁴ Quoted in A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York, 1910), v, 137.

⁵ For a full discussion of the involved publishing rights in this work, see W. W. Greg, "The Copyright of *Hero and Leander*," in *The Library* (London, 1943-44), III-IV, 165ff. Thorpe appears to have owned an interest in *Hero and Leander* also, since he transferred his share of the copyright to Samuel Vicars in 1624; STC 17415. For Burre and Short, see McKerrow, pp. 56, 244.

Blount, to whom he recalled the "memory of that pure Elementall wit Chr. Marlow," whose translation of Lucan he had now published. Since Blount was the recipient of his dedication, he now enjoyed the new role of a literary patron and was requested "to accommodate" himself "with some fewe instructions" which he is "to study . . . for [his] better grace as our Gallants do fashions. First you must be proud and thinke you haue merit inough in you, though you are ne'er so emptie; then when I bring you the booke take physicke, and keepe state, assigne me a time by your man to come againe, and afore the day be sure to haue chang'd your lodging; in the meane time sleepe little, and sweat with the inuention of some pittiful dry iest or two which you may happen to vtter, with some litle (or not at al) marking of your friends where you haue found a place for them to come in at . . . Censure scornefully inough . . . commend nothing least you discredit your (that which you would seeme to haue) iudgement . . . One speciall vertue in our Patrons of these daies I haue promist my selfe you shall fit excellently, which is to giue nothing." Eager to proclaim his affection for his friend, Thorpe concluded: "Thy loue I will challenge as my peculiar Obiect both in this, and (I hope) manie more succeeding offices: Farewell, I affect not the world should measure my thoughts to thee by a scale of this Nature: Leaue to thinke good of me when I fall from thee."⁶

Thorpe reveals himself in his dedication to Blount as a man of good humor, warm affection, and ready perception.⁷ Although several of his later dedications, addressed to the "truest Mirrour of truest honor, William Earl of Pembroke," are written in an unctuous, florid style, they nevertheless represent him as a man of some education and literary appreciation. Like other alert stationers, he had picked up snatches of Latin, but this superficial display of knowledge cannot be interpreted as any indication of genuine scholarship.⁸

It was not until 1603 that Thorpe at the age of approximately thirty-four became an active publisher. From 1600 to 1625 he was associated with forty known publishing ventures. His position as a

⁶ Greg, pp. 173-74; Thorpe's dedication to Blount is reprinted in its entirety.

⁷ For a possible different interpretation, see Greg, pp. 170-71.

⁸ Thorpe quotes some Latin and displays a limited familiarity with the classics in his dedications of the *Manuall* of Epictetus, 1610, and the *Of the Citie of God* of St. Augustine, 1610.

stationer is difficult to evaluate. He at no time appears to have been associated with his brother Richard, about twelve years his junior, who, after the completion of his period of indenture to Robert Ensor in 1605, settled as a bookseller at Chester. Thorpe apparently owned no business premises. In his somewhat distorted portrait of Thorpe, Sidney Lee writes: "He never enjoyed in permanence the profits or dignity of printing his 'copy' at a press of his own, or selling books on premises of his own, and he can claim the distinction of having pursued in this homeless fashion the well-defined profession of procurer of manuscripts for a longer period than any other known member of the Stationers' Company." Thorpe appears to be an entrepreneur whose selection of material was based either upon personal contact with the author or upon the recommendation of a manuscript.⁹

At the beginning of his career Thorpe enjoyed a brief partnership with William Aspley, but the majority of his known publications were personal ventures. About 1616 his interest in books began to decline and his later life is veiled by obscurity and destitution.

During the period of his greatest fecundity Thorpe demonstrated an almost unerring judgment in the choice of manuscripts for publication. Of the forty works associated with his name, twenty-six are of literary interest. The first decade of the new century witnessed the full burgeoning of late Elizabethan literature, but despite the brilliance of the epoch Thorpe might easily have selected for publication manuscripts of dull insipidity. The myriad sermons and nostrums that filled the stationers' shelves have scarcely perpetuated the memories of their publishers. Like the shallow content of this material, their names have evaporated into the thin air of the Churchyard. It is through his literary discrimination that Thorpe's name will continue to live within the shadow of the great works he chose to immortalize.

In 1603 with William Aspley, Thorpe published a speech by Richard Martin, Recorder of London, in honor of the progress of James I from Theobalds to the city. The address was delivered at Stamford Hill and was described as both "eloquent and learned." Aspley had

⁹ McKerrow, p. 265; Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London, 1898), p. 395; Lee's portrait of Thorpe is based largely upon his association with the *Sonnets*. He scarcely investigated Thorpe's other publications and his conclusions cannot be accepted as valid.

already issued in 1600 *The Second Part of Henry The Fourth* and *Much Ado About Nothing* and was later to distinguish himself with Blount in the publication of the First Folio Edition of the plays.¹⁰ Thorpe published two books in 1604: *A Succinct and Philosophicall Declaration of the Nature of Clymactericall Yeeres*, a work inspired by the death of Queen Elizabeth, written by Thomas Wright and dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, and John Marston's *The Malcontent*, issued in partnership with Aspley.¹¹ The appearance of *The Malcontent* signalizes Thorpe's debut as a publisher of dramatic fare. Like other London stationers, Thorpe may have realized the popular appeal of a recent London stage success in book form. Although the printed texts of dramatic hits were not infrequently "vented by termers and chapmen," a publisher usually found a ready market for a play or masque which sold at sixpence.

The Malcontent had been entered by Thorpe and Aspley at Stationers' Hall on 5 July 1604. In his dedication of the play to Ben Jonson, Marston writes: "Only one thing afflicts me, to think that scenes invented merely to be spoken should be enforcively published to be read." Regretting that he had been unable to supervise the printing of the play, he offers his apologies and states that he had been compelled to rely upon "the printer's discretion: but I shall entreate, slight errors in orthographie may bee as slightly overpassed; and that the unhansome shape which this trifle in reading presents, may be pardoned, for the pleasure it once afforded you, when it was presented with the soule of lively action."¹²

The Malcontent was followed in 1605 by one of the most notable Thorpe imprints, *Sejanus* by Ben Jonson. It is possible to assume that Thorpe had personal contact with Jonson, who usually supervised the

¹⁰ STC 17510; for Aspley, see *Dictionary of National Biography* 1, 669, McKerrow, p. 11.

¹¹ STC 17479; Arber III, 258; W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (London, 1939), 1, 203.

¹² *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. Henry H. Wood (London, 1934), 1, 139. The printed text of *The Malcontent* was issued in three states (1, xliii): "The first state represents the first form of the play which had been carelessly printed from a rather confused manuscript. While the type was still at least partly standing a copy came into the printer's hands which had been extensively but very roughly corrected, most likely by the author—only a limited number of this issue was printed to satisfy immediate demands. The new edition was better printed."

publication of his plays. *Sejanus* had been originally copyrighted by Blount, who had assigned it to Thorpe on 6 Aug. 1605. Thorpe may have met Jonson through his "dear Edward," who in 1604 had issued *Jonson His Part of King James His Royall Entertainment through His Honourable Cittie of London*. He may have been introduced to Jonson by Marston, who had dedicated *The Malcontent* to "Benjaminio Jonsonio poetae elegantissimo gravissimo, amico suo, candido et cordato" and who was to lavish high praise upon the forthcoming publication of *Sejanus*: "For never English shall, or hath before | Spoke fuller graced." *Sejanus* was printed for Thorpe by George Eld, whose press was located in Fleet Street. The typography displays a "high degree of accuracy": the Latin historical notes, appearing as marginalia, "imposed a severe test upon the printer." Jonson prefaced his drama with a dedication to Esme, Lord Aubigny, and an Epistle to the Readers in which he refers to the context of the play: "I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share."¹³

Thorpe was to crown the year 1605 with two additional plays by George Chapman. In partnership with Aspley, he issued the provocative comedy, *Eastward Hoe*, written by Chapman and Jonson, with its sarcastic references to James I which resulted in the imprisonment of the caustic authors. Thorpe himself published Chapman's *Al Fooles, A Comedy Presented at Black Fryers and lately before his Majestie*. In the preface to this work Chapman refers to the current practice of piracy and exhorts the reader to beware of counterfeit editions: "Lest by others' stealth it | be imprest | Without my passport | Patched with others' wit."¹⁴

It remains a question of literary speculation whether the triumvirate of Marston, Jonson, and Chapman deliberately chose Thorpe as their principal publisher during this period or whether the enthusiastic "procurer of [dramatic] manuscripts" personally solicited the plays of this popular trio. In a period of turbulent theatrical competition it

¹³ Arber III, 115, 127; STC 14782; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* 1, 216; Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Hereford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1932), IV, 329f., 351. For Eld, see McKerrow, p. 98.

¹⁴ STC 4970, 4963; Arber III, 128; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* 1, 217, 219; Ph. Sheavyn, "Patrons and Professional Writers under Elizabeth & James I," in *The Library* (London, 1906), N.S. VII, 356.

seems that Thorpe was the literary agent, if not the tool, of this particular clique which sought to rival Shakespeare.

The period 1606 to 1609 was the most productive in Thorpe's career. It witnessed the appearance of plays and masques by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston and is climaxed by the publication of the first edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. It is a period which developed Thorpe's acquaintance with literary men, whose encouragement and patronage may well have prompted the first complete publication of Shakespeare's "sugred sonnets" which heretofore had, for the most part, circulated only "among his priuate friends." During these three years Thorpe met the young translator, John Healey. He also met his guardian spirit, John Florio, who was not only a friend of Edward Blount, Marston, Jonson, and Chapman, but also an avowed enemy of Shakespeare, as well as former tutor in Italian to the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke.

Among the most notable works issued by Thorpe from 1606 to 1609 are the masques of Ben Jonson. *The Hymenaei; or The Solemnities of Masque, and Barriers, Magnificently Performed on the Eleventh, and Twelfth Nights, from Christmas; At Court: To the Auspicious Celebrating of the Marriage-union, betweene Robert, Earle of Essex, and the Lady Frances* was printed for Thorpe by Valentine Simmes at "White Friars neere the Mulberry Tree." Two years later the playwright was commanded by Queen Anne to write a second masque in which the sovereign and her ladies were to portray different roles. The designs by Inigo Jones presented to the court audience a sumptuous spectacle enriched by superb narrative. The masque was published by Thorpe and Aspley in two parts: *The Characters of Two Royall Masques. The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beavtie*. To the complete work was appended a supplement: *The Description of the Masque. With the Nuptiall Songs. Celebrating the Happy Marriage of Iohn, Lord Ramsey, Vicount Hadington, with the Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, Daughter to the Right Honor: Robert, Earle of Sussex*.¹⁵

In addition to the masques, Thorpe published in 1607 Jonson's *Volpone*, which had scored a triumph both in the London theatres and upon its presentation at the universities. Among Thorpe's other dra-

¹⁵ STC 14774, 14761; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* I, 237, 270; Ben Jonson VII, 163, 205, 245; Arber III, 166.

matic hits were Chapman's *Gentleman Usher*, *The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron*, and Marston's *What You Will*. In addition Thorpe issued a *Sermon on the Life of Christ* and a collection of epigrams attributed to the Oxford scholar, Richard West.¹⁶

By 1609 Thorpe had published several notable dramatic successes. During this year, which is climaxed by the public appearance of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, he became more closely associated with John Healey. On 18 Jan. 1609 Thorpe entered at Stationers' Hall *A Discovery of a Newe Worlde, or a Descripcion of the South Indyes, By an English Mercury*. The work, a translation of Joseph Hall's satirical treatise, *Mundus alter et idem*, was, however, not published by Thorpe. The copyright was transferred to Blount, who issued it during the year in collaboration with William Barrett. The work had been translated from Latin into English by Healey. During the same year Thorpe published the touching elegy of Philippe Du Mornay, the Sieur du Plessis, *Teares for the Death of His Sonne*, translated from French into English by Healey who, in his dedication to John Coventry, described the work as a "generall Amulet [which] being truly worne resisteth all the infections of fortune." Thorpe was to issue several translations by Healey, whom he seems to have held in high regard.¹⁷

John Healey was the son of a recusant, Richard, a servant in the employ of Lord Sheffield. From 1603 to 1606 he appears to have traveled abroad and upon his return to England busied himself with literature and translations. There is some evidence that he had been beset with adversity prior to the publication of his first translation, Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, since he wrote that he had "long sayled in the deep, darke sea of misfortunes." This translation appears to have been supervised and sponsored by Florio. It includes a dedication to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, whose patronage Healey had obviously secured through his lordship's tutor in Italian, the "Resolute Master John Florio." It seems quite likely that Healey had been recommended to Thorpe by Florio who, in all probability, had been in-

¹⁶ STC 14783, 4978, 4968, 24996, 25262; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* I, 259, 226, 274; *Ben Jonson* V, 3; Arber III, 168, 157.

¹⁷ STC 12686, 18153; Arber III, 400; see *The Discovery of A New World by Joseph Hall*, ed. Huntington Brown (Cambridge, 1937). Preface by Healey to Mornay, *Teares for the Death of His Sonne*: "To my most honored and constant friend, Maister Iohn Coventry" (photostat, courtesy Folger Shakespeare Library).

troduced to him by a common friend, Edward Blount. Thomas Thorpe and John Florio shared a preference for the writings of Marston, Jonson, and Chapman and, in all likelihood, for a publication venture which was to bring to its own and to future ages the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare.¹⁸

In 1609 John Florio was reader in Italian to Queen Anne. A friend of many notables and the associate of literary giants, he was in his own right an author of distinction and an eminent translator. He was the son of an Italian Protestant exile, Michel Angelo, who had sought refuge in London, where he established a congregation and exhibited literary talent which was inherited by his son. The younger Florio, availing himself of his knowledge of Italian and French, published several excellent dictionaries and a superb translation of the *Essayes* of Montaigne. He infused all his writings with a curious fantasy, an eccentricity and extravagance.

Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes*, was published in 1598 by Edward Blount, to be followed by a second edition in 1611 entitled *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, issued by Blount in partnership with William Barrett. Florio's greatest triumph, his English translation of Montaigne, also bore the imprint of Blount, in 1603 and 1613. Hence Blount was quite familiar with the talents and personality of the "Resolute Master John Florio" who had dedicated his *A Worlde of Wordes* to several of the nobility, including Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton. He had entered the Earl's service in 1590 as tutor in Italian and appears also to have acted as a companion to the young nobleman.

In 1592 Florio accompanied Southampton to Oxford, where it is assumed he met Mistress Anne Davenant, wife of the owner of the Crown Tavern and the fancied "Dark Lady" of the *Sonnets*. There is evidence that Florio had a son by her to whom the lines of Shakespeare may have been indited: "So true a fool is love that in your will | Though you do anything, he thinks no ill." Two years later Florio was residing at Tichfield with Southampton, to whom he was to dedicate his *A Worlde of Wordes*, in which he expresses in wild extravagance his

¹⁸ Little appears to be known about Healey; see *Dictionary of National Biography* ix, 331; Healey's preface to Mornay; *The Discovery of A New World* by Joseph Hall, pp. xxixff.

obligations to his young patron: "In truth I acknowledge an entire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all, yea of more than I know or can, to your bounteous Lordship, most noble, most virtuous, and most Honourable Earl of Southampton, in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years, to whom I owe and vow the years I have to live."¹⁹

The "most noble" lord's protégé is described by Sir William Cornwallis as "a fellow less beholding to nature for his fortune than wit, yet lesser for his face than fortune. The truth is, he looks more like a good fellow than a wise man, and yet he is wise beyond either his fortune or education." Florio is further characterized as a man "beset with tempers and oddities which exposed him more perhaps than any man of his time to the ridicule of his contemporaries. . . . He was in his literary career, jealous, vain, irritable, pedantic, bombastical, petulant, and quarrelsome, ever on the watch for an affront, always in the attitude of a fretful porcupine."²⁰

During Florio's period of residence at Tichfield there appeared in print two works which refer with intended disrespect to the relations between his patron, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, and his mistress, and the mutual affection shared between his illustrious lordship and his protégé, William Shakespeare. On 3 Sept. 1594 John Windet at the Cross Keyes entered his newest publication, *Willobie His Avis*, in the *Register* of the Stationers' Company. The work, a dull moral poem written in jangling verse, nevertheless merits attention for its biographical allusions to Shakespeare and his patron, both of whom are referred to by initials only. It is also of interest to observe that the "correspondence" between Henry Willobie and the heroine Avis is sprinkled with Italian mottoes; seven of the Italian expressions in the poem are found in Florio's *Giardino di Recreatione*. It would seem likely that the author of the *Avisa* was familiar with Master Florio's philosophical treatise or perhaps even with the author himself.²¹

¹⁹ For a study of Florio's life, see Frances Yates, *John Florio, the Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 1934), *passim*; STC 11098, 11099, 18041, 18042; Arthur Acheson, *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London 1586-1592* (New York, 1920), pp. 183-88.

²⁰ Acheson, pp. 163-64, 221.

²¹ STC 25755; Henry D. Gray, "Shakespeare, Southampton and Avis," in *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature* (Stanford University, 1941), p. 149; *Willobie His Avis*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London & New York, 1926), pp. 184, 219; Acheson, p. 186.

During the same year Chapman, at Florio's instigation, had sought the patronage of Southampton. He had submitted to him his *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, which the young lord handed to Shakespeare for his approval. Unfavorably criticized by the poet, the manuscript was returned to Chapman, who thus failed to win the Earl's patronage. Embittered, Chapman attacked Shakespeare's relations with Southampton in his dedication to the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night* which was issued in London in 1594.²²

Whatever intimacies existed in the Southampton household, they were obviously not intended for public knowledge. The distinguished Shakespearean scholar, Arthur Acheson, assumes that the privacy of Shakespeare and Southampton was betrayed by a member of the Earl's retinue and brands Florio as the traitor who violated his benefactor's trust and related to the enemy camp matters of a confidential nature.²³

In 1609, the year of Thorpe's publication of the *Sonnets*, Chapman again attacked Shakespeare in his poem, *The Teares of Peace*, to which the poet replied in the revised version of *Troilus and Cressida*. Chapman was but one of a clique who showed or were to show hostility toward Shakespeare. In his *Histrion-Mastix* Marston parodies Shakespeare, and Jonson earlier had joined the group, mocking the poet in the *Poetaster*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *Volpone*. Among his supporters was the "Resolute Master John Florio" who had doubtless taught Jonson Italian for the details in *Volpone*, for which he had composed commendatory verses. In a copy of the play written in Jonson's hand are lines addressed "To his louing Father, & worthy freind Mr. John Florio: The ayde of his Muses. Ben: Jonson seales this testemony of Freindship, & Loue." The disparity in age between Jonson and Florio may suggest the expression "Father," but it is clear that personal and professional reasons brought them together.²⁴

Florio had a powerful personal motive which impelled him to join a group hostile to the foremost literary celebrity of the day, since he had been caricatured and lampooned for public delight in the plays that bore the name of William Shakespeare. The rich humor which

²² Acheson, p. 187; Arthur Acheson, *Mistress Davenant, The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (London, 1913), p. 23.

²³ Acheson, *Shakespeare's Lost Years*, p. 186.

²⁴ Acheson, *Mistress Davenant*, pp. 76-77, 131; Yates, pp. 277, 278, 281; Ben Jonson I, p. 56.

characterizes Holofernes, the schoolmaster in *Love's Labours Lost*, in his search for adjectives "undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or rather unlettered, or ratherest unconfirmed," betrays the extravagant literary affectations of Florio. He is further ridiculed in the same play as the "fantastical Spaniard, Don Adriano de Armado." The role of Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV* was presumably inspired to some degree by Florio's appearance and pomposity. In self-defense Florio attacked Shakespeare in his preface to *A Worlde of Wordes* dedicated to their mutual patron, the Earl of Southampton.²⁵

It is quite natural that the maligned Florio would support a group which had also suffered from the barbs of the poet's pen or had disagreed with him in the war of the theatres. It is of interest to observe that the authors with whom Florio had associated prior to 1609 had chosen Thomas Thorpe as the publisher of several of their works. It has been indicated that the plays and masques of Jonson, Chapman, and Marston bore the imprint of Thomas Thorpe. Although it was Edward Blount, the friend of Thorpe, who published Florio's works, the names of Florio and Thorpe were eventually to be linked. Their association in print was to occur one year after the publication of a slim volume of sonnets, the contents of which, it is believed, emanated from the household of the patron and friend of John Florio—Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton.

It has been established that Shakespeare began his composition of the *Sonnets* in 1591 and completed them about June 1599. In his *Palladis Tamia* Frances Meres refers to their existence: "As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: so the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends." During the year of Shakespeare's completion of his final sonnet sequence William Jaggard printed two of them in his *Passionate Pilgrim*. For ten years the bulk of the poems was to remain in manuscript circulated only among Shakespeare's "priuate friends."²⁶

²⁵ Yates, p. 336; Acheson, *Shakespeare's Lost Years*, pp. 183, 188; Arthur Acheson, *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story 1592-1598* (London, 1922), p. 380.

²⁶ *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare The Sonnets*, ed. Hyder Rollins (Philadelphia and London, 1944), II, 53, 73.

It would appear obvious that neither Shakespeare nor the recipients wished these poems about a passionate and personal relationship to enjoy general circulation. The vilification which Thorpe may or may not deserve for the publication of such highly intimate material must be impartially considered. As a publisher, he had secured a highly prized manuscript which doubtless would prove a best seller. Shakespeare was a big fish for the net of Thomas Thorpe who, however, had already published the writings of other literary giants. If Thorpe questioned the personal context of the manuscript, it probably conjured up in his mind the intimacies expressed in other poetical miscellanies. The volume, written in a language of love and adoration, largely reflects the poetic practices of the day. As the publisher of a collection of exquisite verse, Thorpe deserves no censure. As the tool of one man or a group, who wished to avenge their personal pique by the exposure of material designed for circulation only among the poet's "private friends," Thorpe is to be severely castigated. In fairness to him, however, it is possible to assume that he may have secured the manuscript from Florio and issued it unaware of Florio's true designs. Was Thorpe's dedication of the *Manuall* of Epictetus to Florio an acknowledgment of his indebtedness to him? The role of an innocent entrepreneur seems unlikely. Thorpe sponsored only one work by Shakespeare, the *Sonnets*, a publication unauthorized by the poet. From the relationships of the works which were issued by Thorpe, it is apparent that he represented a group hostile to Shakespeare whose enmity was fostered by Florio. It is quite possible that Thorpe was requested by the indignant "Falstaff" or one of his coterie to publish the *Sonnets* which expressed the love of the poet for his "fair youth . . . his louely boy."²⁷

In the same year as the publication of the *Sonnets* a new edition of *Willobie His Avisa* appeared. Thus the relationship sustained between Shakespeare and Southampton would be further substantiated by a timely circulation of the *Sonnets*. It has been indicated that the confidences revealed in *Willobie His Avisa* had possibly been betrayed by

²⁷ Acheson, *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story*, p. 35: "It shall appear evident then that Shakespeare had no hand in their [the *Sonnets*] publication . . . the sonnets were collected from their original recipients by John Florio and published by him in collusion with George Chapman and others in 1609 as an attack upon Shakespeare by making public the basis of the shadowed scandal in *Willobie His Avisa*."

Florio. Can it not be advanced that this same agent was responsible for the first appearance of the complete *Sonnets* in print? Thorpe's publication of the poems depended upon his possession of a reliable manuscript version of the material. It is quite unlikely that the printed text was based upon any garbled copy, since the 1609 edition has been accepted as fairly accurate and very close to the original draft of the poems. James A. Fort predicates that a text so good could only have come "from a single note-book, and that that note-book belonged either to Southampton himself or to some friend of his who was so intimate with him and so much a lover of poetry that he had obtained a copy of all the sonnets which the Earl had ever received from Shakespeare." Thus it would appear that the manuscript or first drafts of the sonnet series were purloined from a repository in the home of the "fair youth" to whom they had been presented during the course of their composition, and brought to the London stationer by an agent. If the *Sonnets* were written to Southampton, it would not have been impossible for Florio, the Earl's former tutor in Italian and a favorite at Court, to have visited Tichfield, where he gained access to the material which he brought to Thorpe. If Florio did not obtain the original manuscript, he may have arranged for a transcript of the poems. On the other hand he may not have personally secreted the material but engaged an agent to perform this task or hired a member of the Earl's household for this service. Had not Shakespeare himself referred to a "suborn'd informer" in the entourage of his noble patron?²⁸

It has been well established that Shakespeare played no part in this publication and never gave his approval. The work was entered at Stationers' Hall on 20 May 1609, as "a booke called Shakespeares sonnettes." Had the poet endorsed the publication, the registration would

²⁸ STC 25757; *Willobie His Avis* 1594, p. 218; *The Sonnets of William Shakespeare & Henry Wriothesley Third Earl of Southampton* (Oxford, 1938), p. 59; Acheson, *Mistress Davenant*, pp. 98, 132; James A. Fort, *The Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1924), p. 41. Florio had resided at Tichfield in 1594 and probably later; see Charlotte C. Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 69, who also offers her opinion regarding the transfer of the manuscript or drafts to Thorpe, stating that after the marriage of Sir William Hervey, the third husband and widower of the Countess of Southampton, he found the manuscript copy of the *Sonnets* written either in the hand of Shakespeare or Southampton. He gave it to Thorpe, and the grateful publisher sent him a copy as a wedding present, acknowledging this gift in the lines of the dedication, wishing him "All Happinesse" (p. 343). This is indeed a romantic but rather remote interpretation!

have appeared with his full name. The mysterious dedication of Thorpe is perhaps further indication of Shakespeare's disassociation from the published volume.²⁹

The first edition of *Shake-Speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted* appeared in two states. The title-pages are identical except for the imprint. Both were printed by Eld for Thorpe, the one "to be solde by William Aspley," the other by "Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church gate." Theories differ upon Thorpe's choice of two stationers, but it seems obvious that he sought a wide distribution of the volume and hence selected his former partner, William Aspley, and John Wright, the publisher of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. To the *Sonnets*, Thorpe appended a poem, "The Lover's Complaint."³⁰

Thorpe's admirable arrangement of the text indicates his realization that the *Sonnets* had been written to two different persons: numbers one to 126 to a "Fair Youth" and numbers 127 to 154 to "A Dark Lady." The majority of critics have concurred upon Thorpe's judicious order of the *Sonnets*, representing, if not completely, the original textual sequence desired by Shakespeare. Unfortunately, few scholars can agree upon the interpretation of the dedication addressed to "Mr. W.H." George Saintsbury has appropriately written: "It would be rash to guess, and impossible to calculate, how many million words of comment these simple nouns and verbs have called forth." The dedication has immortalized Thorpe as "the sphinx of literature" and it "has caused the spilling of more ink, the utterance of more futile words than almost any other personage or problem. There is not the slightest likelihood that the mystery surrounding the initials will ever be dispelled in a fashion satisfactory to a majority of critics, editors and commentators."³¹

The beguiling dedication: "To The Onlie Begetter Of | These Insving Sonnets | M^r W.H. All Happinesse | And That Eternitie | Promised | By | Ovr Ever-Living Poet | Wisheth | The Well-Wish-

²⁹ STC 22533; Arber III, 183; Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 390.

³⁰ For Wright, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), p. 197.

³¹ Acheson, *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story 1592-1598*, p. 35; Joseph Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1923), p. 173 n. 1.; *Cambridge History of English Literature* V, 252; *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare The Sonnets* II, 166.

ing | Adventvrer In | Setting | Forth | T.T." reflects the high esteem in which the publisher regarded the work. Assuming that Thorpe knew the provenance of the manuscript which he had published either at the behest of Florio or at that of one or more of his coterie of authors, there would remain but little doubt that he dedicated the volume of *Sonnets* to the Earl of Southampton. The inscription implies that Thorpe realized the poems had been written to a person of great importance and hence he employed a magniloquence which he assumed to be appropriate for the "Onlie Begetter" of such perfect verse.³²

The publication of the *Sonnets* marks the apex of Thorpe's career. He was to issue other works in belle-lettres but few compare with those associated with his period of earlier activity. Of singular importance and dual interest, however, is his publication in 1610 of a new English edition of the *Manuall* of the Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, translated into English by John Healey and dedicated by Thomas Thorpe to John Florio. Of the four known dedications written by Thorpe, this is the only one so addressed. The reasons which prompted the stationer to honor Florio as "a true fauorer of forward spirits" arouse some speculation. Thorpe may have wished merely to flatter Florio, the sponsor of Healey, and to acknowledge publicly his indebtedness to him for having brought to his attention the translations of the younger man. A handsome dedication was easy payment for Florio's service. Is it not possible, however, that Thorpe was in greater literary debt to John Florio? Was not his dedication to the Court Reader in Italian a reward for having procured a manuscript more valuable than those which flowed from the pen of a poor young translator? Although it would appear that Thorpe had performed a service for Florio in his publication of the *Sonnets*, the stationer, notwithstanding, had received a highly prized manuscript for circulation. Despite his innocence or collusion, Thorpe would remain Florio's debtor. He could scarcely reward him with a financial token, and an exalted position in the realm of letters as "a true fauorer of forward spirits" would prove a far greater boon to the Queen's Reader than a stationer's money-bag. Impervious to Healey's wish that his "translations . . . might

³² Acheson, *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet* (London, 1903), pp. 4f.; Adams, p. 178; Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 399. A month after the publication of the *Sonnets*, the actor Edward Alleyn recorded in his Diary under "Howshowld stuff" the purchase of "a book Shakesper sonetts 5.d." See *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare The Sonnets* 11, 54.

only bee addressed" to William, Earl of Pembroke, Thorpe dedicated the *Manuall* to Florio. He was not to comply with the translator's request until the publication of the second edition of the book in 1616, which he inscribed to Pembroke. Had Florio's service now been fully compensated, or was Thorpe no longer in a position to requite his ambition? In 1616 Shakespeare died and the animosities of the playwrights had been forgotten. Thorpe's star had likewise declined and he now sought patronage of greater substance and quality.³³

The Epistle Dedicatory in the 1610 edition of the *Manuall* of Epictetus reveals Thorpe's florid and extravagant literary style. After several classical allusions to Horace, Vinnius, and Augustus, he refers to Florio's patronage of Healey and his intervention with Pembroke on behalf of the young translator. Thorpe regarded Healey's version of the *Manuall* as "his iourney-mans Maister-peece" which he realized "though not *Saint Augustines Enchiridion*, now by hap is the hand, or rather the hand-maide of a greater body of *Saint Augustines*: and hath beene held by some the hand to Phylosophy, the instrument of instruments: as Nature, greatest in the least: as *Homers Ilias* in a nutshell: in lesse compasse more cunning: In all languages, ages, by all persons high prized, imbraced, yea imbosomed. It filles not the hand with leaues, but files y^e head with lessons: nor would bee held in hand, but had by hart to boote." Ever the artful punner, Thorpe remarks: "He is more senceles then a stocke, that hath no good sence of this Stoick." Concluding abruptly, he declares that "a short booke would haue no long Epistle, more then a small Towne a great gate" and ends his dedication to Florio, "Yours in true harted loue." Thorpe had highly praised Healey's translation of the *Manuall* of Epictetus. He had also performed in honorable fashion lip-service to John Florio. It would appear that the bargain between the former tutor in Italian to the Earl of Southampton and the publisher of *Shake-Speares Sonnets* had been satisfactorily concluded.³⁴

In his dedication to the *Manuall* of Epictetus Thorpe had referred to the *Enchiridion* of St. Augustine. His remark was not an idle one but

³³ See St. Augustine, *Of the Citie of God* (London: Thorpe, 1610), Dedication to William, Earl of Pembroke; STC 10424. Thorpe's dedication to Florio is reprinted in Yates, Appendix, p. 344.

³⁴ Epictetus, *Manuall* (London: Thorpe, 1610), Dedication by Thorpe to John Florio.

a subtle reminder to the reader of his recent publication of the first English edition, *Of the Citie of God*, translated by Healey and issued by Thorpe sometime after May 1610. The work, unlike Epictetus' *Manuall*, had been dedicated by Thorpe "To The Honorablest Patron Of Myses And Good Mindes, Lord William Earle of Pembroke [*sic*]." From its content it appears that Healey had sailed for America to settle in an "almost-concealed *Virginia*" governed by the Company of which Pembroke was a member. In honeyed words Thorpe refers to the parting wish of Healey, who had desired the translation to be dedicated to Pembroke "as a testimonie of gratitude, obseruance, and hearts-honour to your Honor, bequeathed at hence-parting (thereby scarce perfecting) this his translation at the imprinting to your Lordships protection." Praising the translator and his patron, Thorpe continues: "*Saint Augustine* and his Commenter *Vines*, most fauour of the secular: and the one accordingly to Marcellinus, the other to our *King Henry*, directed their dedications; and as translators are onely tyed, to haue, and giue, true vnderstanding: so are they freer then the authors to sute them-selues a Patrone. . . . Wherefore his legacie laide at your Honours feete, is rather here deliuered to your Honours humbly thrise-kissed hands by his poore delegate."³⁵

The *Manuall* of Epictetus and the *Of the Citie of God* rank among Thorpe's most important publications. He issued only one other work in 1610, the *Histrion-Mastix* of John Marston, with its sarcastic allusions to Shakespeare. Shortly prior to its publication Thorpe had transferred his rights in Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Volpone* to his former fellow apprentice, Walter Burre. Conjecture arises whether Jonson had sought another publisher after the appearance of the *Sonnets*. This would appear to be somewhat dubious but it is rather odd that, with this transfer of copyright, Thorpe's association with Jonson was concluded.³⁶

From 1611 to 1616 Thorpe issued or entered for publication fourteen works. These no longer represent his former specialty publications in drama and the masque, but are books of varied interest. They include several travel narratives, notably the *Odcombian Banquet* by

³⁵ STC 916; St. Augustine, *op. cit.*; Thorpe's dedication to Pembroke (photostat, courtesy Folger Shakespeare Library).

³⁶ STC 13529; Arber III, 201, 202; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* 1, 290.

the English voyager, Thomas Coryate, who discusses his journey to Odcomb, where he deposited as a relic the shoes he had worn to Venice. In 1613 *The Eighth Wonder of the World, or Coriats Escape from Drowning* by the "water-poet," John Taylor, was published for Thorpe with its fictitious imprint "Pancridge." He likewise issued *The Preachers Trauels: Wherein is Set Downe a True Journall to the East Indies* by John Cartwright, which was printed by William Stansby and sold by Walter Burre. Among his more notable publications for this later period are the *Cornucopia: Pasquil's Night Cap*, by the popular poet Nicolas Breton, a friend of Ben Jonson and John Florio. Although Breton's works were largely issued by John Wright, it is possible that Thorpe had obtained the manuscript of the *Cornucopia* through Florio. Thorpe's miscellaneous publications include a ballad, *The New Propheticall King of Barbary, A Famous Victorie Atchieved by the Christian Gallies of Sicilia, An Account of the Hospitall Founded in Charter-House* by Thomas Sutton, and several religious treatises. Of dual interest are two entries by Thorpe in the Company's Register of April and May, 1612. They reflect his earlier predilection for fête literature and the current popular interest in the marriage of young Louis XIII of France and the Spanish Infanta. On April 27 Thorpe registered his proposed publication, *A Congratulacon to Fraunce upon the Happy Alliance with Spayne*, to be followed by *A Generall Discourse of the Triumphe Held in the Listes Royall at Parys in Aprill last for Ioy of the Kinges Marriage with the Infant[e] of Spayne*. These titles appear to have been still-born, but they nevertheless reflect the former interests of Thorpe, whose list of publications and fortunes were soon to evaporate amid the new currents of taste promoted by younger and more astute members of his craft.³⁷

In 1616 Thorpe published the second edition of the *Manuall* of Epictetus, in which he heeded Healey's request and dedicated the work to William, Earl of Pembroke. His epistle, written in an obsequious style, lacks his earlier jauntiness. It is a dedication penned by "one of . . . meanenesse" to a "great Lord, from so meane a man, to so great

³⁷ STC 5810, 4705, 3639, 21515, 22528, 23506, 23750, 24997; Arber III, 242b, 235, 213, 216, 218; *A Booke Called Lectures of J.B. upon the 12 Articles of Our Christian Faith; Holy Meditacons upon VII Penetentiall Psalmes* by G.D.W., *A Funerall Elegye in Memory of the Late Vertuous Master William Peeter of Whipton neere Exetour*; John Walsall, *The Life and Death of Jesus Christ*.

a person." Although the address is largely filled with vacuous phrases, Thorpe pauses to reflect briefly upon "this scribbling age, wherein great persons are so pestered dayly with Dedications." He justifies his own by the request of Healey, who had died in Virginia and had wished the work to "bee addressed vnto your Lordship, as the last Testimony of his dutifull affection. (to vse his owne termes: The true and reall vp-holder of Learned endeauours.)"³⁸

In his dedication of the 1610 edition of the *Manuall* Thorpe had overlooked the request of the living Healey, who had desired that his translations "might onely bee addressed" to Pembroke. It had better suited the designs of Thorpe to disregard this instruction and to dedicate the work to a more deserving patron, John Florio.

The years 1616 to 1625 witnessed only six books with which Thorpe was associated. In addition to the *Manuall* of Epictetus, he published the *Essayes of Certaine Paradoxes* by Sir William Cornwallis, two treatises relating to Dutch religious concerns, and second editions of Breton's *Cornucopia* and Chapman's *Conspiracie and Tragoedy of Charles Duke of Byron and Marshall of France*.³⁹

Thorpe was to round out his publishing career in a manner almost symbolical. In November 1624, in company with his lifelong friend, Edward Blount, he assigned "all their estat and interest in a booke called Hero and Leander begun by Christopher Marlowe and finished by George Chapman" to the London stationer, Samuel Vicars. For the following ten years the stationers' records make no allusion to the activity of Thomas Thorpe. In the State Papers of 3 Dec. 1635 there is to be found a terse reference to a "Grant to Thomas Thorpe in the hospital of Ewelme." The former "procurer of manuscripts," who had pursued his trade during the first glorious decade of the new century, had sought to end his years as a public ward in the almshouse of Ewelme.⁴⁰

³⁸ STC 10426; the dedication by Thorpe to Pembroke is reprinted in Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 410.

³⁹ STC 5779, 18800, 11707, 3640, 4969; Arber III, 272, 295; Greg, *Bibliography of English Drama* 1, 275; Jan van Oldenbarnveld, *Misteria Hollandica, or an Apologie; A Proclomacon Given by the States of Gelderland and Zutphen against the Slanders Laid upon the Evangellicall & Reformed Church*.

⁴⁰ Greg, "The Copyright of Hero and Leander," p. 169; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles I.* (London, 1865), VIII, 527.

Thomas Thorpe died a pauper, a ward of his country's largesse. Yet he left a legacy of incalculable wealth. The plays, the masques, and the poems which bear his imprint represent the works of the greatest English authors: they reflect Thorpe's literary discrimination. His role as the publisher of the *Sonnets* will continue to evoke speculation and explanation. This study has been inclined to agree with the theory of Arthur Acheson that Thorpe published the *Sonnets* at the behest of Florio and thereby served as the tool of Florio, Jonson, Marston, and Chapman. It has attempted not only to corroborate Acheson's original premise but also to prove further that by his personal acquaintances and sequence of publications, Thorpe was the agent of Shakespeare's enemies. As the medium of an avenging coterie, Thorpe merits censure and is guilty of collusion and literary immorality. Nevertheless, society must condone a guilt which brought to its own and to future generations poems of unrivaled beauty and perfection. Thomas Thorpe emerges as an enviable "procurer of manuscripts." To him, his own generation and posterity owed and will forever owe a debt of inestimable measure.

Certain Relationships of the Manuscripts of *Comus*

By JOHN T. SHAWCROSS

CERTAIN relationships of the copy of *Comus* found in the Trinity MS to that in the Bridgewater MS and of both to the printed version have not previously been indicated.¹ Stages of development and revision are here described in terms of alterations and variants, the source of which may or may not have been Milton. This fresh examination of the alterations and variants in the text suggests (1) that the Bridgewater MS was derived from a copy of the Trinity MS text during its development into the version which we now know; (2) that the manuscripts of the songs written by Henry Lawes which are extant do not proceed from the Bridgewater MS; (3) that the 1637 edition was set from a revised intermediate copy with some corrections and revisions from the Trinity MS; and (4) that the copy used for 1645 derived from the 1637 edition with changes.² Dates of the transcriptions can be narrowed through analysis of handwriting. The usual assumption that the mask as we know it generally dates from before its first performance on 29 Sept. 1634 is found to be in error.³ Rather, we now discover, at least parts of the present version of *Comus* were composed in autumn-winter, 1637-38; the Bridgewater MS was not transcribed until then; the manuscripts

¹ For fullest previous treatment, see John S. Diekhoff's discussion, "The Text of *Comus*, 1634 to 1645," *PMLA* LII (1937), 705-27, especially pp. 719, 720-21, and notes 18 and 19. The present paper cites all textual variants and in such a reorganized way that revised pictures of Milton's biography and poetic composition are implied amid the emphasis on textual derivation. The most convenient source for the reader of the Trinity MS, the Bridgewater MS, and the 1637, 1645, and 1673 editions of *Comus* is Vol. 1 of Harris Fletcher's facsimile edition of the *Complete Poetical Works* (Urbana, 1943).

² Diekhoff (p. 723) and Helen Darbishire in *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (Oxford, 1955), II, 338, both have pointed out that 1645 must have been printed from 1637. Miss Darbishire evidenced the reprinting of "quest" in line 321, and we may add among others "se'd," 185; "Com.," 244 (only use of this abbreviation); "thach't," 318; "oth'," 446; and a comma instead of a period after line 899.

³ Cf., for example, the remarks of J. Milton French in *Life Records of John Milton* (Rutgers University Press, 1949), I, 282.

of the songs may date before or after that time; and the 1637 edition may actually have been published in 1638, before 15 March.

I

The relationships between the texts of *Comus* to be considered may be seen through the appearance or omission of certain lines and passages, and through verbal similarities and differences. On the basis of such likenesses the provenience of the texts can be determined.

The printed editions offer a text which includes lines 357-65 and 779-806 (neither group is actually found in the manuscripts) and the final revisions and augmentations of lines 384-85, of lines 672-705 as recorded on the pasted leaf of the Trinity MS, and of lines 976-1023 on p. 29 of that manuscript. The Bridgewater MS contains the first version of lines 384-85; lines 672-78, 688-96, 701-5 of the pasted leaf (without a few emendations); the first version of lines 976-1023 as recorded in the Trinity MS on p. 28; and a number of lines of Milton's basic transcription in the Trinity MS which were omitted in the published editions (those after line 409) or deleted before publication (those after 356, 429, 678, and 995).⁴ Lines 679-87, added later than lines 672-78, 688-705 to the pasted leaf, are not included in the Bridgewater MS; but the line after 678, "poore ladie," which was deleted when lines 679-87 were added, does appear. In addition this version omits lines 188-90, 195-225, 632-37 (636-37 were added after 632-35 and 638 in the Trinity MS), 697-700, 737-55, and 847.⁵ The basic form of the poem in the Trinity MS includes the first version of lines 384-85; omitted or deleted material after lines 356, 409, 429, 678, and 995; unrevised material on p. 24; and the ending on p. 28; and does not include lines 357-65, the pasted leaf and the inserted lines 662-66 on p. 23 (first versions of both appear on p. 24), lines 779-806, and the new material on p. 29.

⁴ I disregard all emendations (like those in line 21) and all deletions (like those after line 4) made before the Bridgewater MS was transcribed, as they have no bearing on the present study; I also omit obvious errors made by the scribe of the Bridgewater MS.

⁵ Probably through eye-skip, the last half of line 734 is added to the first half of 733, forming a single line. The undeleted line in the Trinity MS after 846 is omitted in the Bridgewater MS along with line 847 and in all editions. A few other changes were effected, of which the position of lines 976-99, as given on p. 28 of the Trinity MS is most notable. Being used as a prologue, these lines were omitted when the copyist came to the epilogue.

Professor Diekhoff has shown that the copy of *Comus* in the Trinity MS is a transcription, not an original working. Examination of the manuscript indicates that between this transcription and the writing of the Bridgewater MS, lines 663-65 were moved to their present position on p. 23 and lines 662 and 666 were added; and lines 672-78, the deleted line beginning "poore ladie," 688-90, 693-96, and 701-3 were rewritten with revisions on the pasted leaf and lines 691-92, 697-700, 704-5 were added. The position of this change was indicated by a note on p. 23. At first the inserted passage was to begin with "poore ladie," but Milton reconsidered and decided to begin with line 672. Though not previously noted, the Bridgewater MS postdates the pasted leaf, since line 696 as it occurs in the manuscript is worked out on the pasted leaf. The Bridgewater MS, we thus conclude, was derived from the Trinity MS, directly or indirectly, during the development of the eventual version.

Between the writing of the Bridgewater MS and the 1637 edition, Milton composed lines 350-65 and 779-806, the latter perhaps shortly before publication. A strip of writing appears with p. 19, being an insertion which Milton had attached to one of the sheets, but which was ripped out leaving only the margin. This was a rewriting of the much emended section from line 350, including the new lines 357-65. Some of the first letters, corresponding to lines 350-60, can be read in this strip: "bu" | "wh" | "fr" | "p" | "o" | "I" | "w" | "or" | "o" | "I" (that is, "I bro.") | "t." There is a note alongside lines 350-55, which informs the copyist of the insertion. However, this revision was written after the Bridgewater MS had been copied, it is important to observe, because replaced lines after 356 (found in the Bridgewater MS) were not yet deleted. (Besides, a verbal alteration in line 356, required by the revision, was not yet made.) In addition to composing the aforementioned lines, Milton revised lines 384-85; added lines 679-87 to the pasted leaf, deleting the line "poore ladie"; rewrote and revised lines 976-1023 by adding 984-87 and 1000-11, and then later deleting the line after 995 ("yellow, watchet, greene, & blew") and adding 997; and deleted lines after 356 and 429. Lines after 409 were omitted from 1637, though no deletion is recorded in the Trinity MS. The edition of 1637 could not have been set from the Bridgewater MS or a copy of it because of the changes and the variants of that manuscript.

There is, however, a close relationship indicated between the revised text of the Trinity MS and that offered in print.

Verbal similarities and differences further describe stages of development and revision, reinforcing the previous conclusions as to the relationships between the manuscripts, and between them and the printed editions. Readings from the basic transcription in the Trinity MS (given first), although later manuscript emendations are found in the printed editions (given second), occur in the Bridgewater MS: 58, "w^{ch}" > "whome"; 99, "Northerne" > "dusky"; 243, "And hould a counterpointe" > "And give resounding grace"; 270, "prosperinge" > "prosperous"; 312, "wide" > "wild" (amanuensis' hand); 349, "lone" > "close"; 356, "or els" > "what if" (amanuensis' hand); 388, "or" > "and"; 432, "naye more" > "some say"; 460, "begins" > "begin"; 465, "lascivious" > "and lavish"; 555, "sweete" > "soft"; 556, "rose like the softe steame of distill'd perfumes" > "rose like a steame of rich distill'd perfumes"; 688, "hast" > "have"; 689, "hast wanted, heere" > "have wanted, but"; 1014, "earths greene" > "greene earths" (on p. 28). These corrections were made, then, after the Bridgewater MS was transcribed and before the publication of 1637.

Likewise the two manuscripts agree in a few instances where the three printed editions give different readings, not indicated in the Trinity MS: 145, "Co" or "Comus" > omitted; 170, "my" > "mine"; 229, "hence" > "off"; 403, "wide" > "wilde"; 409, "question, no" > "controversie"; 410, "but" > "yet"; 415, "brother" > omitted; 428, "shepheard" > "swain?"; 563, "might" > "did"; 657, "I" > "Ile"; 821, "that" > "which"; 951, "neere" > "there." The change of "you" to "yee" in 1637 and 1645 is reversed in 1673. Two alterations from the Trinity MS are found in the printed editions, the lines not appearing in the Bridgewater MS: 746, "on" > "and"; 751, "sample, or" > "sampler, and." These changes may have been Miltonic corrections made between the Bridgewater MS and 1637, or they may have been emendations or errors by intervening hands.

A variety of other differences exists among the numerous texts under consideration. There is one instance (line 956, "are" > "grow") where the two manuscripts and 1637 agree, the correction in the Trinity MS being used in 1645 and 1673. One change between 1637 and

1645-73 occurs in material not found in the Trinity MS: 781, "reproachfull">"contemptuous." However, the correction is found in Milton's hand in the Pforzheimer Bridgewater presentation copy.⁶ At line 214 appears "flittering" in the Trinity MS and 1637 (the line is omitted in the Bridgewater MS), and the final "hovering" is in the Trinity MS in an amanuensis' hand.⁷ In seven instances the manuscripts (cited first) and 1637 agree, but no changes as given in 1645 and 1673 are otherwise recorded: 195, "stolne">"stole"; 252, "she">"it"; 437, "has">"hath"; 472, "hovering">"lingering"; 512, "you">"ye"; 605, "buggs">"forms"; 608-9, "and cleave his scalpe | Downe to the hipps">"to a foul death | Curs'd as his life." Such alterations would have been made between 1637 and 1645 either by Milton or by some intervening hand.⁸

⁶ See *Carl H. Pforzheimer Library of English Literature, 1475-1700*, ed. Emma Unger and W. A. Jackson (New York, 1940), II, addenda for No. 714, 1281-82.

⁷ Cf. the discussion of the work of this scribe by William Aldis Wright, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (Cambridge, 1903), and by Professor Diekhoff, pp. 719-20, 722-23. This same hand rewrote "when," 175; "perhaps some cold bank is," 353; "what if," 356; and the respelling of "pallat," 318. But his emendation "thirst," 167, is ridiculous; "wild," 312, is inferior; and "hov'ring" here at 214 debilitates the effect of "flittering." Was "hov'ring" substituted because "flitter" was unknown to the scribe? Since Milton had effectively used the word at line 472, perhaps when the preparer of copy for the 1645 edition came shortly upon a second use of the word, he used "lingering." In other words, these four changes seem not to belong in Milton's text, as Professor Diekhoff has suggested.

The scribe probably was employed for the publication of *Comus* in 1637: his change of "wild" in line 312 appears in that edition. "When," 175, and "perhaps some cold bank is," 353, merely rewrite Milton's reinstatements; and "what if," 356, inserts the only correction in lines 350-56 not otherwise indicated on p. 18. The last two entries would be unnecessary after the 1637 publication. Lines 350-56 had been rewritten and lines 357-65 added in the inserted leaf seen with p. 19. The note alongside lines 350-59 on p. 18 directs the amanuensis to "[r]ead the [pa]per over [a]gainst √ [i]n stead of [always?] do- wne"; that is, to the inserted sheet which is headed by something like an "X," corresponding to the "X" next to line 350. The note is not like the reminder found on p. 23, which directs Milton to the pasted leaf. Perhaps it is significant, too, that no amanuensis' hand is seen correcting any other materials published in 1645. However, the emendation of "hov'ring," 214, and the respelling of "pallat," 318, were not used until 1645; and "thirst," 167, does not appear in print at all. This last alteration may be due to a misunderstanding: lines 67 and 678 both call for "thirst."

⁸ New readings at 195, 437, and 512 may be scribal or editorial changes of no importance. "She" (252) was probably replaced by "it" because the 1645 copyist or printer did not know the referent or because he did not know that night is personified as feminine. The problem of "hovering" is mentioned in footnote 7; and "buggs," 605, and lines 608-9 may have been changed by the editor because of their unpleasant quality. Professor Diekhoff considers the latter two changes Milton's; see "Critical Activity of the Poetic Mind: John Milton," *PMLA* LV (1940), 751.

The appearance of some variants, but not of others, as cited before, suggests that the Bridgewater MS was transcribed from the text in the Trinity MS or from a copy of it; that 1637 was set from a later copy (or the same intermediate copy) of the Trinity MS which gave later revisions found in the manuscript and revisions not found in the manuscript; and that the copy used for 1645 was related to the 1637 edition.⁹

II

The problem of the provenience of all these texts is a complicated one. Inferences from the foregoing discussion are modified by the state of the directions. At the end of this paper is a table of all directions and similar nonpoetic notes (e.g., "Song") in *Comus* in parallel columns for the Trinity MS, the Bridgewater MS, and the printed editions, showing additions, deletions, and revisions.¹⁰ As has been seen, the edition of 1637 could not have been set from the Bridgewater MS; nevertheless certain directions therein are found in 1637 and not in the

⁹ New information concerning the five songs written by Lawes which have come down in the Lawes MS owned by the Church family and in British Museum Add. MS 11,518 arises out of this examination: (1) The texts of the songs date after the Trinity MS was first transcribed (see lines 231, 860, 962, 963, 972, 1012, 1023). (2) Although the revision of line 976 ("From the Heav'ns now I fly") is found otherwise only in the Bridgewater MS, two variants indicate that the manuscript was not the source for the songs; the Bridgewater MS gives "holy daye," 959, and "field," 979, rather than the correct "holiday" and "fields." Likewise, although the date of performance occurs on the title-page of the Bridgewater MS, the manuscripts of the songs give October 1634. (3) Lines 243 and 999 indicate transcription either from the Trinity MS or from some other lost manuscript before revisions included in 1637 were made. Four other variants from both the Trinity and Bridgewater MSS found in the British Museum MS may be due to misreadings: "thy," 233 ("the"); "Pity," 241 ("Parlie"); "transplanted," 242 ("translated"); "o're," 965 (2) ("on"). Foss, who used the text in the British Museum MS after collation with that in the Lawes MS, gives "transplanted" and "o're," but "the" and "Parlie." May we conclude that Foss found the four words which he prints in the Lawes MS? If so, the first two would be due to Lawes or to the scribe of the copy from which he took his text, and the last two probably to the transcriber of the British Museum MS. I have not examined a complete facsimile of the Lawes MS; see H. J. Foss, *The Mask of Comus* (London, 1937) and Willa Evans, *Henry Lawes* (Modern Language Association, 1951). The British Museum copy is given in facsimile by Fletcher, Vol. 1.

¹⁰ Differences in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation among the printed editions are omitted; the text given is that of 1645. An asterisk (*) indicates that this direction was added at some later date than the first writing at this locus. Pen and ink suggest that "Song ends" given at line 937 under the Trinity MS was written down when lines 938ff. were inscribed, not at some later time. It was written to the side as was "Exeunt," line 957, etc.

Trinity MS. The amanuensis of the Bridgewater MS seems to be merely copying his text (he makes many errors); he edits only by writing in a prologue excerpted from the epilogue, by omitting certain passages, and by distributing lines 867-89 (given to the spirit in the Trinity MS and in the printed editions) among the spirit and the two brothers and lines 938-57 (also the spirit's) between the spirit and the Elder Brother. The redistribution necessitated the correction of "ladie" to "sister" in line 938. Thus, because the amanuensis was copying, one may infer that the additions to and changes from the Trinity MS text (excluding, for the moment, those at lines 147, 921-22, and 937) were transcribed from some intermediate copy.

The differences in directions between the two manuscripts fall into the following categories: (1) additions or alterations at the opening direction, and at lines 92-93, 658-59, 813-14, 866-67, and 965-66 to set the scene or indicate songs; (2) omissions of unnecessary directions at lines 330-31, 476 (deleted in the Trinity MS, probably when the note at 481 was added), 481, 957, and 1023; and (3) changes at lines 92-93, 489-90, 813-14, and 957-58 to yield more explicit readings. These additions, omissions, and changes were in all probability Milton's own. The Bridgewater MS retains "Exit" at line 92 which is not found in the printed editions and which was replaced by "goes out" in the Trinity MS. This indicates that Milton worked on the directions after the Bridgewater MS was transcribed. Actually no direction is essential for a reader here.

The directions in the Trinity MS owe nothing to any other version.¹¹ Made before transcription from the Trinity MS were the additions "wth a charming rod & glasse of liquor," 92-93 (Milton would not have had difficulty over "glasse" and he would have quoted "in one hand" and "in the other," had he copied this addition from the intermediate copy or from the Bridgewater MS) and "come on in," 92-93 (closer wording to the other versions would occur if Milton had followed some source). The addition in the Trinity MS at lines 658-59 preceded transcription from the manuscript, since the last section of the direction is augmented and changed in the Bridgewater MS. There must have

¹¹ Cf. opposing, but unacceptable, suggestions by David H. Stevens in "The Bridgewater Manuscript of *Comus*," *Milton Papers* (University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 17-19.

been some question as to which sections were sung and which spoken, for at lines 866-67 Milton added "to be said" though the Bridgewater MS has "The verse to singe or not," at lines 965-66 "2 song," and at lines 975-76 "or sayes."¹² The second of these was entered in the Trinity MS before the intermediate copy had been produced, as the rest of the direction is not included. The inclusion of the third in the Bridgewater MS is an oversight of the scribe who merely followed his copy, for all that ensues is Song 5, not the whole and partially set passage. The first may have been entered either before or after. The directional change at lines 243-44 could also have preceded transcription of the intermediate copy.

The directions at lines 147, 921-22, and 937 have been called additions to the Bridgewater MS after the original transcription.¹³ But the

¹² Professor Evans considers the directions at lines 866-67 and 937 confusing (p. 93). The point, however, is simple: lines 867-89, being rhymed and falling between two songs (lines 859-66 and 890-99), could have been misinterpreted as a song, but the passage was not a song and thus Milton wrote "to be said." (Other rhymed sections which are not songs are lines 93-144, 900-21, and 938-57.) The spirit's passage, lines 922-37, was apparently a song, though no music exists, for (1) Milton noted "Song ends," line 937; (2) the imagery and substance of the lines are appropriate; and (3) the lines—an apostrophe, not dialogue—separate the dialogue which precedes (thus no note of the song's beginning) from the dialogue which follows. The direction at lines 921-22 and the spacing in the Bridgewater MS and the 1637 edition insured the separation from the preceding dialogue. Perhaps Milton added "or sayes" at lines 975-76 because the whole song was not a single setting: six lines of the basic version on p. 28 are omitted (lines 988-91, that after 995, and 996) and it is divided into two songs. Or it may have been abbreviated originally, being of a length more normal for two songs of a mask (see discussion of dating, *post*). Although the printed editions set lines 900-1 in italics to indicate part of a song and the Bridgewater MS seems to include them with lines 890-99, I believe that Milton did not mean them to be: (1) they are dialogue addressed to the spirit and not part of Sabrina's description of her arrival; (2) "request" does not rhyme and "heere" does not rhyme with any part of the song; and (3) the short line 901 is not indented as are other short lines of songs.

¹³ Accompanying this conjecture is Professor Stevens' statement, p. 17, that handwriting shows Henry Lawes to be the writer of these directions and of the names of the three actors on the title-page. The writer of the directions and the writer of the names are the same person, as handwriting shows, but he is the scribe of the manuscript, not Lawes. Comparison should be made between these sections and the scribe's italics, primarily, and other letter formations in his basic transcription of the mask: see "Æternity," line 14; "Bacchus," line 46; "The measure . . . Antick," dir. (144-45); "The lady enters," dir. (168-69); "songe," dir. (965-66); "The," catchword for "The two brothers," dir. (329-30); "Hemony," line 637; "they," dir. (974-1011); etc. Note also that the "e's" of the direction at 937 are scribal. If the autographer of the Lawes MS was Henry Lawes himself, as it seems, then he was not the scribe of the Bridgewater MS, including the aforementioned additions, as the facsimiles of the Lawes MS unquestionably show (see Evans, *passim*).

first two and part of the last are written in the hand reserved for directions (italics), and they appear in the margin because they appear in the margin in the Trinity MS. (The only other marginal directions occurring in the Trinity MS and found in the Bridgewater MS are the opening direction and those at 866-67 and 965-66, which are given in revised form in the Bridgewater MS.) There is no reason to consider them additions.¹⁴ The phrase alongside line 147 is an addition in Milton's copy because he composed lines 147-50 during transcription; the direction, certainly not in the version used to record the Trinity MS copy where it would have been meaningless, was added after Milton had proceeded with the transcription. The direction at 921-22 is in two parts; the second part, "the Ladie rises out of her seate," was added to the Trinity MS first, and the first part, "Sabrina descends," later. When this direction was added to the Bridgewater MS, it was done at one writing. Had Milton taken the direction from the manuscript, he would have written the full statement and the word "and" would have been included. I believe that the direction with line 937 in the Trinity MS was not an addition (see footnote 10, *ante*).

There are a number of omissions and changes and one addition between the Bridgewater MS and the printed editions: changes like those at lines 92-93 and 957-58 improve the sense and omit nonessentials for a reader; omissions like those at lines 92, 144-45, 147, 243-44, 489-90, 813-14, 866-67, 937-38, and 975-76 do away with stage directions which are unnecessary for a reader and which are implied in the verse; and the addition of "soft Musick" at 658-59 informs the reader of the atmosphere more exactly. The foregoing changes, in addition to "attendant spirit" for "guardian dæmon," could have been made in part by either Milton, or the 1637 editor, or the preparer of copy.

The evidence of the directions requires an explanation never before suggested: that an intermediate copy existed from which the Bridgewater MS was transcribed and from which the 1637 edition was printed (with additions and corrections). Further proof of the existence of such copy is seen in the following differences from the Trinity MS:

¹⁴ Professor Stevens implied that at least one of these directions and the names of the Egerton children on the title-page are in a different color of ink from the rest of the manuscript. But I can ascertain nothing further on this point.

(1) "give," 26, is corrected to "gives" in all other copies; (2) "amongst," 174, is replaced by "among" in all other copies; (3) "the" is inserted in line 201, the copyist apparently indicating Milton's omission in the manuscript by a small caret; (4) the correction "cell," 231, is not found elsewhere; (5) "such tow," 291, is given as "two such" in all other copies; (6) small numbers in the Trinity MS indicate an interchange of "gladly banish," 413, although they are not interchanged in the other texts; (7) "moorie," 433, is otherwise "moorish"; (8) "his," 498, is altered to "the," which was original in the manuscript; (9) "flighted," 553, is given as "frighted" in all other copies; (10) "w^{ch}," 637, is altered to "that," which was original in the manuscript (the line is omitted in the Bridgewater MS); (11) at line 737 "nor" is deleted and replaced by "and" which occurs in all printed editions (the Bridgewater MS omits the line), but later "and" was deleted and "nor" underscored and rewritten; (12) the obvious change of "an" to "a," 743, may be significant, too, as it is circled in the Trinity MS with an "x" in the margin; (13) the omitted "is," 807, is replaced in all other copies; (14) the undeleted line after 846 does not appear in any other version; (15) "distressed," 857, is given as "be-setting" in all other copies; (16) like changes in directions before line 1 and at lines 92-93, 330-31, 489-90, 658-59, 813-14, 957-58, and 965-66, and the omissions of those at lines 330, 481, and 957 occur in the Bridgewater MS and in the printed editions. This intermediate copy must have been corrected and augmented by Milton or under his supervision for the 1637 edition. It is possible, but I believe less likely, that the 1637 edition was set from a revised transcription of this intermediate copy.¹⁵

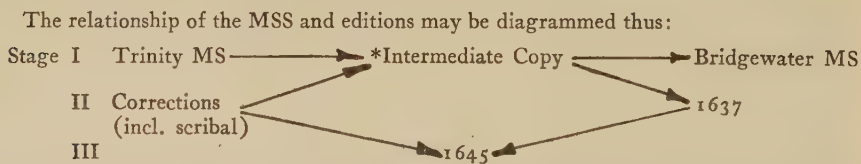
¹⁵ We cannot even guess who may have been the transcriber of the intermediate copy. However, the amanuensis mentioned in footnote 7 certainly used the corrected Trinity MS to alter the intermediate copy. His corrections at lines 312 and 356, and the insert of lines 350-65 were made after the Bridgewater MS was transcribed. Since the changes for lines 214 and 318 do not appear until 1645, we may suppose that they were marginal notes in the intermediate copy without deletion of the original word (as they are in the Trinity MS), the 1637 compositor overlooking them and setting the earlier words. Perhaps this is the reason for the complete omission of the emendation in line 167: the marginal note was never picked up. The rewritings of Milton's reinstatements in lines 175 and 353 may indicate that Milton revised these specific items after transcription of the intermediate copy. On the other hand, the preparer of copy for the 1645 edition must have used the Trinity MS along with a 1637 issue. Perhaps he was instructed to check all marginal corrections, as he would have done with *Lycidas*, the manuscript containing a number of alterations for that poem in Milton's hand written sometime after 1640.

We may now modify our former conclusions: the Bridgewater MS was transcribed from a copy of the Trinity MS;¹⁶ 1637 was set from this same intermediate copy, revised by corrections and additions from the Trinity MS; and the copy for 1645 was a 1637 issue with alterations.

III

The evidence of handwriting is conclusive in redating parts of the Trinity MS of *Comus* and therefore successive versions based upon those parts. Dated by the change from Greek "ε" to Italian "e," Milton's autograph places certain sections of *Comus* and the Bridgewater MS, which incorporates these sections, around the end of 1637, for the Italian "e" is found frequently in revisions of the Trinity MS of *Comus*. Helen Darbishire has pointed out that Milton was beginning to use the Italian "e" in autograph before the Italian trip, as it appears in *Lycidas*.¹⁷ It is used there only six times, four being in re-worked material: "hence," 18; "selfe," 58 (both "e's"); "whome" and "nature," 60; and "greene," 140 (first "e"?). *Lycidas* was written around November 1637, the date given by Milton (with a Greek "ε" incidentally), and was published in 1638. If Milton had often used the Italian "e" much before the fall of 1637, more occurrences should be found in *Lycidas*; but this inconsistent use indicates the newness of the form as a common practice.

This changed practice of handwriting has often been used to date manuscript materials,¹⁸ despite the existence of one early example of



¹⁶ Although no evidence of an intermediate copy has previously been offered, this was also the conclusion of Lady Alix Egerton, ed., *Milton's Comus, being the Bridgewater Manuscript* (London, 1910), p. 31.

¹⁷ Helen Darbishire, "The Chronology of Milton's Handwriting," *The Library*, Fourth Series, XIV (1934), 229-35.

¹⁸ See, for example, James Holly Hanford, "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies," *PMLA* xxxvi (1921), 251-314 (dating of the entries in Milton's *Commonplace Book*), and Maurice Kelley and Samuel D. Atkins, "Milton's Annotations of Aratus," *PMLA* LXX (1955), 1090-1106.

Italian "e" in Milton's signature, as Bachelor of Arts, in the University Subscriptions Book at Christ College, January 1629.¹⁹ It is certainly possible that this letter formation was used between 1629 and 1637, but the single occurrence before 1637 does not necessarily indicate common practice. Had it been frequent, it should be observable in the entries from the Commonplace Book where only the Greek "ε" is found, in more words from *Lycidas*, and in other manuscript materials definitely dated before 1638. The evidence is strong on the side of the conclusion that Milton began to use the Italian "e" in 1637 and that he increased that usage during the early months of 1638. The 1629 signature is apparently incidental and not indicative of practice.

The application of this principle of dated handwriting change to the Trinity MS of *Comus* results in major reconsiderations of Milton biography and scholarship.²⁰ The basic transcription of the mask reveals at least two instances of Italian "e": "scene" (second "e") and "towne," direction between lines 957-58. These may be simply incidental occurrences, or they may indicate that Milton wrote the copy of *Comus* in the Trinity MS at the time that his handwriting was beginning to undergo change; that is, around the time of his setting down *Lycidas*, the basic transcription of which likewise shows but two Italian "e's."²¹ Regardless, in his reworkings of *Comus*, Milton exhibits rather extensive use of the Italian "e," for it occurs on the pasted leaf in "baulme," 674; "Thone," 675; "borne," 676; "coole," 678; "some," 679; "soone," 690; "heere," 699; "taste" and "none," 702; "appetite," 705 (all

¹⁹ See Samuel Leigh Sotheby, *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton* (London, 1861), facing p. 124.

²⁰ *The Seventeenth-Century News* (Winter 1953), in its supplement for the December 1953 meeting of the Milton Society, has printed a condensed and revised discussion of the handwriting by Miss Darbishire in which she called attention to the use of some, but not all, of the Italian "e's" in *Comus*. Nothing is suggested in regard to the significance of these facts for the Bridgewater MS or Milton's biography.

²¹ The pen and poor writing of pp. 26-28 (containing the *Comus* direction) are similar to those seen in the revision of lines 58-63 of *Lycidas*. Interesting and perhaps significant is the contrast in the heading of *Comus* ("1634") and that of *Lycidas* ("Novemb. 1637"). Was only the year given because it was not contemporary? Such a dating of the basic version in the Trinity MS, which is a transcription, would preclude any revised version there recorded as the text used at the Michaelmas 1634 performance. In addition to making a restudy of the form of the *Comus* of 1634 peremptory, this dating, though questionable, makes suspect the dating of all materials preceding it in the Trinity MS and some assumptions concerning Milton's biography from 1632 to 1637.

written before the transcription of the Bridgewater MS); on p. 19 in "plumes," 378, changed from "plum's" (perhaps written before the transcription of the Bridgewater MS); and on p. 29 in the revised lines 976-1023 in "happie," 977; "right-borne," 983; "scarfe," 995; "greene," 996; "deepe," 1000; "queene," 1002 (all written after the Bridgewater MS). This increased but inconsistent use would suggest that these revisions were made in late 1637 or early 1638. It seems unlikely that such extensive use could date before all the *Commonplace Book* entries or *Lycidas*.²²

Under this dating, Milton could not have written the version of *Comus* recorded in the Bridgewater MS before the fall of 1637: the pasted leaf which exhibits this altered handwriting was written before the manuscript was transcribed, as proved by the fact that line 696 was worked out on the pasted leaf. The Bridgewater MS itself must date from the fall of 1637, because the intermediate copy from which it was derived was revised shortly thereafter.²³ The form of the mask which we know today as *Comus* could not possibly have been the form of the mask presented at Ludlow Castle on 29 Sept. 1634.

²² Note too that p. 29 containing the revised epilogue is the recto of the leaf on which the first lines and reworkings of *Lycidas* are found. The verso on which *Lycidas* was begun was the last page of the second gathering. I doubt that Milton would have started what certainly was to be a serious, longer poem on the verso of a page already used to record in almost unchanged form the ending of his long mask. If the epilogue were written later, as it now seems, this objection is removed.

²³ A statement on the title-page suggests that the Bridgewater MS was written sometime after 1634; the note in the same hand as the text reads: "At Ludlow Castle the 29th of September 1634 The chiefe persons in the representacon were:". Both the date and the tense imply that the copy was made sometime after that performance. Besides, there was no reason to give this kind of title-page if the Bridgewater MS were the script for that performance, as Stevens proposed. The opinion of James A. Arnold in "John Milton's Masque: An Historical and Critical Study of *Comus*," *DA* (Princeton), XIII (1953), 386, is that the manuscript "is not a final stage copy but a partial redaction for the stage." This version divides lines 867-89 among the spirit and the brothers, and lines 938-57 between the spirit and the Elder Brother, a suspicious allocation if the two brothers were the young lords of the first production.

Is there a relationship between the title-page of the Bridgewater MS and the title-page and cast of characters on p. 35 of the 1637 edition? There are likenesses which might suggest a common source. I do not consider important the inclusion on the Bridgewater MS of the countess as auditor, though she died 11 Mar. 1635. I likewise see nothing in "beene long oblig'd to your most honour'd Parents" in Lawes' dedicatory epistle in the 1637 edition to indicate that the countess was alive when Lawes wrote, as Miss Evans does (p. 109), in an attempt to evidence an early move toward publication.

Of special consideration are the extant songs.²⁴ As has been stated, the texts of the songs derive from an incompletely revised version of *Comus*, one postdating the original transcription into the Trinity MS. If the original Trinity MS transcription occurred before September 1634, as has always been assumed, then the revisions of the mask incorporated into the song texts may have been made before September 1634. Such alterations from the basic Trinity MS transcription (given first) are: Song 1—line 979, "plaine">"broad"; two lines after line 979 omitted and apparently rewritten as lines 1014-15; line 982, "Atlas">"Hesperus"; line 992, "garnish't">"humid"; line 995, "watchet">"purfl'd." Song 2—line 232, "by Mæanders">"by slow Mæanders" (may be an error of omission during transcription). Song 3—line 860, "Listen virgin where thou sit'st">"Listen where thou art sitting"; line 862, originally different to rhyme with "sit'st" (perhaps something like "in twisted braids of flowers thou knit'st")>"in twisted braids of lillies knitting." Song 4—line 962, "of speedier toeing, & courtly guise">"of lighter toes & such Court guise"; line 963, "such as Hermes did devise">"as Mercury did first devise"; line 973, "bays">"praise." Song 5—line 1011, "message well is">"task is smoothly"; lines 1014-15, perhaps added; line 1023, "bow">"stoope." In addition line 976 of Song 1 is given as "From the Heav'ns now I fly," a change to conform with the new position as prologue.

If the Trinity MS of *Comus* was first transcribed in 1637, the texts

²⁴ The manuscripts of the songs date after 1634, as Professor Evans implies (p. 235): the headings show that the performance had already taken place, and the date appended as the time of performance (October 1634) is slightly erroneous. Perhaps the performance was so dated because the manuscripts were written down well after September-October 1634, when only an approximate date was remembered.

The relationship of the British Museum MS to the Lawes MS cannot be certainly determined: there are, aside from textual differences, significant musical variations. The music of Song 2 in the British Museum has G and A for "her sad," although Foss gives A and C; "sweet" is a tied half and quarter note, although Foss prints a half note and a quarter rest; and the G of "Pi-ty" and C of "thou" are sharped in Foss's edition. The Lawes MS has a repeat sign for part one of Song 4. Song 5 is given by Foss in the key of F major, although the British Museum MS scribe does not write in a flatted B signature on any of its twelve staves. "Soon," E according to Foss, and "me," B-flat according to Foss, are D and A in the fully reproduced version. Besides, only the British Museum MS shows the bass accompaniment for the last four measures of Song 1. Some of these may be errors of transcription or of omission. It seems unlikely, however, that one manuscript came from the other; a common source reduces uncertainties.

must be reconciled with the musical settings which should be those used in 1634. However, such musical discussion is outside the province of the present paper. Perhaps a few changes, such as deleting a note and correspondingly lengthening another note within the measure, will allow all the seemingly original words to fit Lawes' music. (We should remember that Lawes emphasized the words, fitting the music to his text.) In a few instances, we may find that the original words improve Lawes' musical phrase (for example, line 860 in Song 3 would be greatly improved, musically, by having the stressed "sit'st" fall on the dotted quarter note now corresponding to the unstressed "-ing").²⁵

This new dating (both of the Bridgewater MS and of at least parts of the transcription in the Trinity MS) points to renewed poetic activity in the latter part of 1637, at which time (23 Nov. 1637)²⁶ Milton wrote to Charles Diodati: "Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air" (translation by Hanford). Soon afterwards *Lycidas*, which elaborates upon his situation, was completed. Around this same time *Comus* was revised in an attempt to sublimate what Tillyard calls the high and solemn themes of an otherwise academic dispute.²⁷ What may have happened is that Milton, again becoming creatively active in the early fall of 1637, made

²⁵ Is it significant that two songs are omitted from these manuscripts? Sabrina's song, lines 890-99, appears (with the direction "sings") in both the Trinity and the Bridgewater MSS. Only one line of this song is changed, but by a metrical and musical equivalent: "that my rich wheelles inlayes" > "that in the channell straies." The Shepherd's song, lines 922-37, to which is appended in both manuscripts "Song ends" but which is not indicated as a song in the 1637 edition although it is separated from the following verse, is also omitted. Here the only changes are "crystall" > "brimmed," line 924, and "from" > "the," line 927. The alteration of neither set of lyrics would require musical change in 1637, as would the alterations in Songs 1(?), 2, 4, and 5(?); and the changes in the texts of Songs 1, 3, and 5 are not the simple replacement of one set of lyrics for another as in the two songs omitted. In other words, if the present form of the songs dates after 1637, the reason for the reproduction of the five extant songs may have been that Lawes (and others) wanted revised music to accord with the textual revisions of 1637.

²⁶ W. Arthur and Alberta T. Turner have corrected the date of the letter to November; see *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (Yale University Press, 1953), I, 325 n. 6. Such dating reinforces the present contention of creative activity around the time of the composing of *Lycidas*, which reflects these activities.

²⁷ See E. M. W. Tillyard's revised discussion of the additions in "The Action of *Comus*," *Studies in Milton* (New York, 1951).

revisions to *Comus*, allowed the intermediate copy to be made, made additional revisions to *Lycidas* and to *Comus*, and allowed publication of both. Because of the shortness of time involved in this new dating, I suggest, as Miss Darbishire already has in her remarks for the 1953 Milton Society meeting, that *Comus* was published in 1638, possibly between February and 15 Mar. 1637/8. This later publication date may explain why Milton thought that Sir Henry Wotton had not seen his poem before 6 Apr. 1638.²⁸

²⁸ See Wotton's letter of 13 Apr. 1638, published in 1645. William R. Parker's identification of the anonymous printer of *Comus* as Augustine Mathewes suggests, corroboratively, printing some while after the licencing decree of 11 July 1637, for Mathewes lost status as a master printer at that time. See "Contributions Toward a Milton Bibliography," *The Library*, Fourth Series, xvi (1936), 425-30.

[See Table on following pages]

TABLE

(See Note 10, ante)

<i>Locus</i>	<i>Trinity MS</i>	<i>Bridgewater MS</i>	<i>Printed Editions</i>
dir.	the first scene discovers a wild wood A Guardian spirit, or Dæmon	The first scene discovers a wild wood, then a guardian spirit or demon descendes or enters.	The first Scene discovers a wilde Wood. The attendant Spirit descends or enters.
92	Exit goes out*	Exit	
92-3	Comus enters with a charming rod* & <u>g</u> lasse of liquor*	Comus enters with a charmege rod in one hand & a glass of liquor in the other	Comus enters with a Charming Rod in one hand, his Glass in the other,
	with his rout all headed like some wild beasts thire garments some like mens & some like womens they begin come on in* a wild & humorous antick fashion intransit <i>κωμάζοντες</i> .	with him a route of monsters like men & women but headed like wild beasts their appell glist'ringe, they come in makinge a riotous and vnruely noise with torches in their hands.	with him a rout of Monsters headed like sundry sorts of wilde Beasts, but otherwise like Men and Women, their Apparel glistring, they com in making a riotous and unruly noise, with Torches in their hands.
144-5	the measure (in a wild rude & wanton antick)	The measure in a wild, rude, & wanton Antick.	The Measure.
147	they all scatter*	they all scatter*	
168-9	the Ladie enters	The lady enters	The Lady enters.
229-30	Song.	Songe	SONG.
243-4	Comus enters. looks in and speaks*	Comus looks in & speaks	
330	Exeunt		

<i>Locus</i>	<i>Trinity MS</i>	<i>Bridgewater MS</i>	<i>Printed Editions</i>
330-1	the tow brothers enter	The two brothers	The two Brothers.
476	Hallow within		
481	hallow farre off		
489-90	he hallowes halle the guardian Dæmon hallowes agen & enters in the habit of shepheard	he hallowes and is answered, the guardian dæmon comes in habited like a shepheard.	The attendant Spirit habited like a Shepherd.
658-9	the scene cha changes to a stately pallace set out wth all manner of deliciousnesse.	The Sceane changes to a stately pallace set out wth all [?] manner of deliciousness,	The Scene changes to a stately Palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness: soft Musick, Tables spred with all dainties. Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an enchanted Chair, to whom he offers his Glass, which she puts by, and goes about to rise.
813-4	She offers to rise the brothers rush in strike his glasse downe the monsters shapes make as though they would resist but are all driven in. Dæmon enter wth them	tables spred with all dainties Comus appes wth his rabble, and the lady set in an inchaunted chayre, to whome he offers his glasse wth she puts by, and goes about to rise. The brothers rushe in with swords drawne, wrest his glasse of liquor out of his hand, and breake it against the ground his rowte make signe of resistance, but are all driven in, the Dæmon is to come in with the brothers. Songe.	Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an enchanted Chair, to whom he offers his Glass, which she puts by, and goes about to rise. The Brothers rush in with Swords drawn, wrest his Glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground; his rout make signe of resistance, but are all driven in; The attendant Spirit comes in. SONG.
858-9	Song		

<i>Locus</i>	<i>Trinity MS</i>	<i>Bridgewater MS</i>	<i>Printed Editions</i>
866-7	to be said*	The verse to singe or not.	
889-90	Sabrina rises attended with the water nymphs Sings	Sabrina rises attended by water nimphes and singes.	Sabrina rises, attended by water-Nymphes, and sings.
921-2	Sabrina descends* the ladie rises out of her seate*	Sabrina descends and the lady rises out of he[r] seate.*	Sabrina descends, and the Lady rises out of her seat.
937	Song ends	Song ends.*	
957	Exeunt		
957-8	the scene changes and then is presented Ludlow towne & the præsidents castle then enter countrie dances & such like gambols &c. after at those sports the Dæmon w th y ^e 2 bro. & the Ladie enter the Dæmon sings	The sceane changes then is p ^r sented Ludlow towne and the Presidents Castle, then come in Countrie daunces, and the like &c, towards the end of these sports the demon with the 2 brothers and the ladye come in. the spiritt singes. 2 songe p ^r sents them to their father & mother.	The Scene changes presenting Ludlow Town and the Presidents Castle, then com in Country-Dancers, after them the attendant Spirit, with the two Brothers and the Lady. SONG. This second Song presents them to their father and mother.
965-6	they dance. the dances all ended The Dæmon sings. or sayes* [Epilogue]	They daunce, the daunces all ended the Dæmon singes or sayes.	The dances ended, the Spirit Epilogizes.
975-6	The Dæmon sings or says Exit	(II) (I)	
1023			

Bibliographical Notes

The 1735 Dublin Edition of Swift's "Poems"

In the preface to his excellent edition of Jonathan Swift's poems (Oxford, 1958. 3 v.), Sir Harold Williams traces the history of the 1735 edition of the Dublin printer, George Faulkner. The description opens with an account of the slow progress of the printing, which was prolonged for nearly two years, together with Swift's explanation for the delay. The poet indicated in a letter to Lord Oxford that Faulkner was "dependent upon others for copy," and that he had ordered "'certain things to be struck out after they were printed.'" ¹ Williams then continues by emphasizing Swift's probable participation in the editing of the poems, the "semi-authoritative" character of the work, and its importance in the Swift canon. I believe, however, there is more to be said on the subject of the pace which the printing of the work followed and on its possible indirect effect on the dating of some of the poems.

There are several indications that, although the printing of this volume required an unduly long time, the work nevertheless proceeded spasmodically and was brought to a hasty and disorganized close. On the frontispiece etching of Swift the date 1734 appears. The edition was finally issued in January 1735, a seemingly desperate month after the deadline which was self-imposed by the etching. Further, the last sentence of the preface states:

Our intentions were to print the poems according to the time they were writ in, but we could not do it so exactly as we desired, because we could never get the least satisfaction in that or many other circumstances from the supposed author.

As a matter of fact, almost all the poems are dated. Why, we may ask, were they not simply put into their proper chronological order?

At the end of this paper are set down in a tabular arrangement the foliation, the date assigned by Faulkner, and the pagination for those pages on which are printed the title and date of the last two-thirds of the poems in the volume.² An asterisk beside the page number, which appears in the extreme right-hand column, indicates that this poem, according to Williams, made its first ap-

¹ I, xxix.

² The first third follow a more or less consistent progression of dates up to O8r (p. 207), where the table begins, and offer no problem. The order of the dates in this first third is: 1701, 1703, 1706, 1706, 1707, 1707, 1708, 1708, 1708, 1712, 1712, 1712, 1712, 1712, 1712, 1713, 1712, 1713, 1713, 1713, 1713, 1708, 1716, 1718, 1720, 1720, 1720, 1720, 1720, 1721, 1722, n.d., 1723, 1721, 1723, 1720, 1724, 1724, 1726, 1726-27, 1727, 1727. All but one of these had received prior publication.

pearance in this edition. An "A" in this column indicates that Williams accepted the date which Faulkner assigned; an "NA," that he did not accept it.

By running an eye down the "date" or middle column, one can observe quickly the highly uneven chronological order. There are, however, from four to five groups (depending upon the distribution the reader chooses to make), each with its own internal chronological progression.³ This fact, I think, suggests that Faulkner, after he had printed the poems in the first third of the volume, then collected enough poems for a few gatherings, set them up in type in chronological order, printed them, and then stopped printing until he collected more. The final gatherings, Hh and Ii, seem to have no order whatever. Seemingly they were set up so quickly that chronology could not be observed.

The effect of this evidence on the dating of the poems is shown by the pattern of cancels in the volume. As Williams has detected several and has evolved a theory as to their use, it is worthwhile to refer in full to his remarks.

Indications of editorial work, which proceeded while the volume was in press, carry a suggestion of the author's rather than the publisher's hand. O8 is cancelled by *O, pp. 207-8. Further signs of cancellation appear at *Z, pp. 343-4, *Aa, pp. 357-8, *Bbz, pp. 371-2, *Bb, pp. 379-80. In each of these instances the recto or verso of the starred leaf has a prefatory note to the poem or poems, following. It seems most probable that these notes were written by Swift, and that the original leaves were canceled to admit the insertion or recasting of the notes. T5--T8, pp. 281-8, representing the earlier part of "A Panegyrick on the Dean," appears also to have been replaced by a cancel half-sheet signed *T.⁴

Examination of several copies of the edition, however, discloses a number of unmarked cancels whose existence is generally revealed by the presence of turnovers with which they are conjugate. Before cancel *O (O8), and between pp. 206-7, two turnovers appear, one conjugate with P6, the other with P8. Between R8v, p. 256, and S1r, p. 257, are four stubs or turnovers, conjugate with T1, T2, T3, and T4. These may simply be the remnants of the original gathering. In the middle of the U gathering, between U3 and U4 of one copy (owned by Dr. G. B. Evans of the University of Illinois), the cancel *Z (2 conjugate leaves, Z4, Z5, pp. 343-46) appear. In one copy (University of Illinois Library) two turnovers appear between T8 and U1, one of which is unmistakably conjugate with U7.⁵ The other, probably, is conjugate with U8. It would thus appear that U1-U6 with the incorporated two leaves of cancel *Z were printed by half-

³ For example one distribution might be from p. 207 to 281, from p. 295 to 356, from p. 356 to 464, and from p. 466 to 479.

⁴ I, xxxvi.

⁵ U2 is conjugate with U5, U3 with U4. Probably U6 is conjugate with U1.

sheet imposition, leaving U7 and U8 as surviving fragments of the original gathering. It is important to note that many of these cancels are "title-pages" on which there are no notes—only titles and dates: U6r, U5v, U4r, *T (T5r), T4r, T3v, T1r, P8r, P6r.

Now the crux of the matter is that certain gatherings, O, P, T, U, and Z, not only seem to be heavily canceled but that generally the cancels are "title-pages." As shown, many are "title-pages" without notes. Generally, we should guess, they appear to correct the dates of those poems then being printed for the first time, for, in many cases, the insertion of these cancels has broken the chronological order of poems preceding and following.

Mr. Williams has presented in his own prefatory notes to many of the poems much biographical and bibliographical evidence to support his dating, and this cannot lightly be set aside. At the same time he has stated: "Some of the dates are clearly wrong and the result of pure guess work."⁶ Yet Williams accepts Faulkner's dates for most of the poems then published for the first time.⁷

One wonders, therefore, in view of the large number of cancels, their apparent connection with the dates of poems (especially those poems which were appearing in print for the first time), and the erratic chronological order in the volume, if Faulkner's dates may be trusted. The argument may be thus stated: Should we accept the dates of the poems which were assigned by a printer who has produced a badly ordered collection, who was equivocal in his explanations

⁶ I, xxxii.

⁷ Williams accepts Faulkner's dates for the following poems which Faulkner published for the first time: "Joan cudgels Ned," p. 207; "Stella at Wood-Park," p. 212; "A Receipt to Restore Stella's Youth," p. 217; "To Quilca," p. 220; "Whitshed's Motto on his Coach," p. 279; "A Panegyrick on the D--n," p. 281; "The Description of an Irish Feast," p. 295; "Clever Tom Clinch Going to be Hanged," p. 298; "Sent by Dr. Delany to Dr. S---t," p. 302; "Apollo, or a Problem Solved," p. 334; "On Burning a Dull Poem," p. 336; "To the Earl of Oxford," p. 348; "To the Earl of P-b-w," p. 352; "Judas," p. 355; "In Sickness," p. 356; "An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet," p. 358; "A Simile on our Want of Silver," p. 361; "On Wood the Iron-monger," p. 363; "Wood, an Insect," p. 365; "Advice to the Grub-Street Verse Writers," p. 367; "Desire and Possession," p. 369; "A Pastoral Dialogue Between Richmond-Lodge and Marble Hill," p. 372; "On the Five Ladies at Sots-Hole," p. 378; "A Riddle," p. 380 (together with six undated riddles between 382 and 389); "Another" [riddle] "The Gulph of all Human Possession," p. 390; "Another" [riddle] "Deprived of Root, and Branch, and Rind," p. 397; "On Censure," p. 398; "To Betty the Grizette," p. 400; "Death and Daphne," p. 402; "On Mr. P---y being Put Out of the Council," p. 406; "Upon the Horrid Plot Discovered by Harlequin . . .," p. 409; "The Furniture of a Woman's Mind," p. 413; "On Stephen Duck, the Thresher, and Favourite Poet," p. 416; "To Mr. Gay," p. 417; "The Hardship Put Upon the Ladies," p. 417; "The Dog and Thief," p. 457; "The Revolution at Market-Hill," p. 458; "To Janus on New-Year's Day," p. 464; "Verses on the Upright Judge who Condemned the Drapier's Letter," p. 468; "On Seeing Verses Written Upon Windows in Inns," p. 469; "Carperiae Rupes in Comitatu . . .," p. 477.

in his preface for the confusion, and who himself apparently changed his mind on several occasions about these dates? Quite clearly Faulkner might have been completely accurate in his corrections. Perhaps, indeed, they were dictated by Swift. Granted this, we may still be somewhat doubtful of the accuracy of the dates of the uncanceled poems in those instances where biographical and bibliographical evidence is weak.

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Foliation, Date, and Pagination for those Pages on which the
Poem's Title and Date are Printed

*Or[O8r]	1723	p. 207*A	*Aav[Aa3v]	1720	p. 358*A
*Ov[O8v]	1720	p. 208	Aa5r	1725	p. 361*A
P2v	1723	p. 212*A	Aa6r	1725	p. 363*A
P5r	1724-5	p. 217*A	Aa7r	1725	p. 365*A
P6v	1725	p. 220*A	Aa8r	1726	p. 367*A
P6v	n.d.	p. 220	Bb1r	1727	p. 369*A
P8v	1728	p. 224	Bb2v	1727	p. 372*A
Q8r	1729	p. 239	Bb5v	1728	p. 378*A
R5v	1726	p. 250	*Bbv[Bb6v]	1724	p. 380*A
R8r	1729	p. 255	Cc3v	1724	p. 390*A
S5r	1729	p. 265	Cc6r	1730	p. 395*NA
T1r	1730	p. 273	Cc7r	1725	p. 397*A
T3v	1731	p. 278	Cc7v	1727	p. 398*A
T4r	1724	p. 279*A	Cc8v	1730	p. 400*A
*Tr[T5r]	1730	p. 281*A	Dd1v	1730	p. 402*A
U4r	1720	p. 295*A	Dd3v	1731	p. 406*A
U5v	1726	p. 298*A	Dd5r	1722	p. 409*A
U6r	1726	p. 299	Dd7r	1727	p. 413*A
U7v	1724	p. 302*A	Dd8v	1730	p. 416*A
X1r	1730	p. 305	Ee1r	1733	p. 417*A
X4v	1731	p. 312	Ee1r	1731	p. 417*A
X6v	1731	p. 316	Ee5v	1731	p. 426
Y6r	1723	p. 331*NA	Ee7v	1733	p. 430
Y7v	1730	p. 334*NA	Ff1r	n.d.	p. 433
Y7v	1731	p. 334*A	Gg5r	1726	p. 457*A
Y8v	1729	p. 336*A	Gg5v	1730	p. 458*A
Z1r	1731	p. 337	Gg8v	1729	p. 464*A
Z4r	1713	p. 343*NA	Hh1v	n.d.	p. 466
Z6v	1716	p. 348*A	Hh2v	1724	p. 468*A
Z7r	1724	p. 349*NA	Hh3r	1726	p. 469*A
Z8v	1726	p. 352*A	Hh4r	1733	p. 471
Aa2r	1731	p. 355*A	Hh6r	1717	p. 475*NA
Aa2v	1714	p. 356*A	Hh7r	1723	p. 477*A

The American Songster before 1821
*A List of Incomplete and Unlocated Titles**

The pocket collection of songs of the day, usually referred to as the "songster," was a decidedly popular article of commerce during the early years of our nation's history. All told, I have been able to locate and examine personally at least a single copy of 413 known American songsters published before 1821. This is a sizable body of literature of exceptional interest, but it has remained unexplored territory to all except a very few serious students of the American scene. I am convinced that one of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the present lack of an adequate bibliographical *vade mecum* in a complex field where individual titles are notably rare, easily confused, and difficult to trace.

It is a good indication of the scarcity of these elusive items to note that of the 413 known songsters, 38 appear to exist only in mutilated, imperfect, or fragmentary form. There are also 75 additional items I have been unable to locate in any form. I am all too keenly aware of the ghosts which haunt this territory; dozens of phantom titles have been cavorting around in Evans and elsewhere, for years and years. These I have tried to eliminate. I must admit, however, that the bibliographical evidence for the existence of some of the unlocated items here listed is far from conclusive.

I define a songster as a collection of three or more secular poems intended to be sung, and I qualify the definition by specifying that the collection be issued in book or pamphlet form, to exclude broadsides and sheet music. No items of less than eight pages are included. Works containing a separate section of songs are considered songsters; miscellanies containing an occasional song are not. This explains the presence, in a list of songsters, of such items as almanacs, jestbooks, self-instructors in letter writing, autobiographies, and guides to free masonry.

1750: The songs of Robin Hood. New York, printed by James Parker. [1]
 Evans 6613. Advertised 5 Nov. 1750 as "just reprinted."

1761: The mock bird; or new American songster. New York, sold by A. Thorne. [2]
 Advertised 19 Mar. 1761 as "just published."

The new American mock-bird. New York, printed by Hugh Gaine. [3]
 Evans 8940; Sabin 1150; Sonneck-Upton, p. 16. Perhaps identical with Item No. 2.

* The purpose of the appended list is to make known, in succinct format, the particulars of the unlocated and incomplete roster. The writer earnestly solicits from the readers of this journal locations of any of the named titles or any clues which will enable him to track them down. Information sent to him at 2000 Rittenhouse Street, Hyattsville, Maryland, will be deeply appreciated and most welcome.

- A song book which contains all the new songs. New York, James Rivington.
[4]
Sonneck-Upton, p. 397. Advertised 16 Mar. 1761 as "this day published." Perhaps identical with Item No. 2.
- 1762: Jemmy Carson's collection. Philadelphia, printed by Andrew Steuart.
[5]
Evans 9083; Sonneck-Upton, pp. 76, 216. Advertised 2 Dec. 1762 as "for sale."
- 1764: The American cock robin: or, a choice collection of English songs. New York, printed and sold by John Holt.
[6]
Evans 9569; Sonneck-Upton, p. 15.
- 1765: The wood-lark. London, printed; Philadelphia, reprinted by William Bradford.
[7]
Sonneck-Upton, p. 476. An imperfect copy is in Lib. Co. Phila.
- 1767: The masque. New York, sold by Garrat Noel.
[8]
Evans 10674; Sonneck-Upton, p. 254. Advertised 30 July 1767 as "this day published."
- 1769: Black bird songbook. Philadelphia, sold by William Woodhouse.
[9]
Sonneck-Upton, p. 43. Advertised 13 July 1769 as "for sale."
- 1771: The new song book, being Miss Ashmore's favorite collection of songs. Boston, reprinted and sold by William M'Alpine.
[10]
Evans 11969; Sonneck-Upton, p. 263. Advertised 25 Nov. 1771 as "just published."
- 1773: The storm, or the American syren. Williamsburg, printed by William Rind, and sold by Edward Cumins.
[11]
Evans 13032; Sabin 92226; Sonneck-Upton, p. 410. Advertised 11 Feb. 1773 as "just published."
- 1774: The American robin. New York, sold by Hodge and Shober.
[12]
Evans 13111; Sonneck-Upton, p. 20. Advertised 30 Dec. 1773 as "just published . . . and to be sold . . . 1774."
Miss Ashmore's choice collection of songs. New York, sold at Mr. William Bailey's store.
[13]
Evans 13124; Sonneck-Upton, p. 253. Advertised 22 Aug. 1774 as "just published." Cf. Item No. 10.
- 1777: Songs, comic, satyrical, and sentimental. By George Alexander Stevens. Philadelphia, printed and sold by Robert Bell.
[14]
Evans 15603; Sonneck-Upton, p. 399. Advertised 26 Nov. 1777 as "just published."
- 1779: Loyal and humorous songs. New York, printed by Hugh Gaine.
[15]
Evans 16326; Sonneck-Upton, p. 240. A fragment is in AAS.
- 1780: A new and select collection of the best English, Scots and Irish songs. New York, printed and sold by James Rivington.
[16]
Evans 16874; Sonneck-Upton, pp. 76-77. Advertised 17 June 1780 as "this day . . . published."

- 1782: The free masons pocket book. New York, printed and sold by Lewis and Horner. [17]
 Evans 17537; Sonneck-Upton, p. 147. Advertised 11 May 1782 as "just published."
- 1783: The vocal magazine of new songs. Philadelphia, for sale at Bell's book store. [18]
 Sonneck-Upton, p. 445. Advertised 1 Oct. 1783 as "now for sale."
- 1785: Mother Goose's melody. 1st Worcester edition. Worcester, printed by Isaiah Thomas. [19]
 Evans 19105; Sonneck-Upton, p. 269. A fragment is in AAS.
- 1786: A little pretty pocket-book . . . to which is added a little song book. Philadelphia, printed and sold by W. Spotswood. [20]
 Evans 19759. Advertised 12 July 1786 as "for sale."
- 1788: The charms of melody. Philadelphia, printed by M. Carey for Thomas Seddon. [21]
 Evans 20996; Sonneck-Upton, p. 58. An imperfect copy is in AAS.
- 1789: The apollo. Philadelphia, printed by William Spotswood. [22]
 Evans 21660; Sonneck-Upton, p. 28. Advertised 9 Apr. 1789 as "just published."
- The young mason's monitor, and vocal companion. By Brother William M. Stewart. New York, printed by Harrison and Purdy. [23]
 Evans 22164; Sonneck-Upton, p. 484. Advertised 15 Aug. 1789 as "just published."
- 1790: The American songster. Portsmouth, printed by John Melcher. [24]
 Evans 22311; Sonneck-Upton, p. 20. Perhaps a ghost of Evans 20930.
- The jolly Hibernian in full glee; or, complete Irish jester, and wits vade-mecum. Philadelphia, printed by Henry Taylor, for Robert Campbell. [25]
 Evans 22591; Sonneck-Upton, p. 218.
- The new entertaining Philadelphia jest-book, and chearful witty companion. Philadelphia, printed for W. Woodhouse. [26]
 Evans 22799. Imperfect copies are in Hist. Soc. Pa. and AAS.
- 1791: The new entertaining Philadelphia jest-book, and chearful witty companion. Philadelphia, printed and sold by W. Woodhouse. [27]
 Evans 23598; Sonneck-Upton, p. 330. Perhaps a ghost of Item No. 26.
- The nightingale; or, songster's companion. Philadelphia, printed and sold by W. Woodhouse. [28]
 Evans 23634; Sonneck-Upton, p. 297.
- 1792: The life and death of Robin Hood. Philadelphia, printed and sold by Stewart & Cochran. [29]
 Rosenbach 160. An imperfect copy is in Free Lib. Phila.

- Monstrous good songs for 1792. Boston. [30]
 Evans 24551; Sonneck-Upton, p. 267.
- The vocal muse; or ladies songster. Philadelphia, printed for the proprietors. [31]
 Evans 24978; Sabin 100653; Sonneck-Upton, p. 445. Two imperfect copies are in LC.
- The young mason's monitor. By William M. Stewart. Portsmouth, printed by John Melcher. [32]
 Evans 24819. Advertised 27 Sept. 1792 as "just published."
- 1793: The jovial songster. Philadelphia, printed and sold by H. Kammerer. [33]
 Evans 25675; Sonneck-Upton, p. 218. Advertised 25 June 1793 as "lately published."
- The mermaid, or nautical songster. New York, sold by John Harrisson. [34]
 Sonneck-Upton, p. 258. Advertised 20 Apr. 1793 as "for sale."
- The mocking-bird. Philadelphia, printed and sold by John M'Culloch. [35]
 Evans 25830; Sonneck-Upton, p. 265. Advertised 30 Mar. 1793 as "for sale."
- The syren or musical bouquet. New York, printed by John Harrisson for Berry & Rogers and John Reid. [36]
 Evans 24839; Sabin 94131. An imperfect copy is in UVa.
- The vocal remembrancer. Philadelphia, printed and sold by William Spotswood. [37]
 Evans 26411; Sabin 100654; Sonneck-Upton, p. 446. Advertised 19 Jan. 1793 as "for sale."
- 1794: American academy of compliments. Philadelphia, from the press of Mathew Carey. [38]
 Evans 26551.
- The charms of melody. Philadelphia, printed for Mathew Carey. [39]
 Evans 26760; Sonneck-Upton, p. 58. Advertised 28 Nov. 1794 as "for sale." Perhaps a ghost of Item No. 21.
- Jachin and Boaz; or, an authentic key to the door of free-masonry . . . to which are added, a select collection of songs. Boston, printed by J. Bumstead for E. Larkin. [40]
 An imperfect copy is at Harvard.
- 1795: American songster. Boston, sold by William Spotswood. [41]
 Evans 28182; Sonneck-Upton, p. 20. Perhaps a ghost of Evans 20930.
- The Baltimore songster. Baltimore, printed for Keatinge's book store. [42]
 Minick 149. Dated 1794 in Evans 26607 and Sonneck-Upton, p. 36. Advertised 26 Mar. 1795 as "printed."
- The Columbian songster. Boston, printed by E. Russell. [43]
 Evans 28457; Sonneck-Upton, p. 79.
- The jovial songster. Baltimore, printed for Keatinge's book store. [44]
 Minick 237. Advertised 26 Mar. 1795 as "printed."

- The pleasing songster; or festive companion. Philadelphia. [45]
Evans 29328; Sonneck-Upton, p. 333.
- The songster's magazine. Philadelphia. [46]
Evans 29542; Sabin 86952; Sonneck-Upton, p. 405.
- Tom Thumb's song book. By Nurse Lovechild. Boston, printed and sold by Samuel Hall. [47]
Evans 28987; Sonneck-Upton, p. 436.
- The warbling songster, or cure for dulness. Philadelphia. [48]
Evans 29827; Sonneck-Upton, p. 448.
- The winter evenings amusement, or, jovial companion. Boston, printed and sold by J. White and W. T. Clap. [49]
Sonneck-Upton, p. 473. An imperfect copy is at Brown.
- 1796: Paddy's resource. 1st American edition. Philadelphia, printed for and sold by T. Stephens. [50]
Evans 30987; Sonneck-Upton, p. 324. An imperfect copy is in LC.
- Songs from the rock to hail the approaching day. By Richard Lee. Philadelphia, printed for Richard Lee. [51]
Evans 32368.
- 1797: American academy of compliments: or, the complete American secretary. Wilmington, printed by Peter Brynberg. [52]
Evans 31717; Sonneck-Upton, p. 15.
- The American ladies pocket book for 1797. Philadelphia, published by W. Y. Birch. [53]
Evans 29972. An imperfect copy is in Hist. Soc. Pa.
- The nightingale. Amherst, Samuel Preston. [54]
An imperfect copy is in AAS.
- Eine schöne Sammlung der neuesten Lieder. Reading, gedruckt bey Jungmann und Comp. [55]
Evans 32809.
- The unparalleled sufferings of John Coustos . . . with . . . a collection of masonic songs. New London, printed and sold by Charles Holt. [56]
Evans 31998.
- 1798: The American ladies pocket book . . . for . . . 1798. Philadelphia, published by William Y. Birch. [57]
Evans 31722.
- The Baltimore songster; or festive companion. 2nd edition. Baltimore, printed for Henry S. Keatinge. [58]
Evans 33367; Minick 411; Sonneck-Upton, p. 36. Advertised 15 Aug. 1798 as "for sale."
- The buck's pocket companion; or, merry fellow. New Haven, printed by George Bunce. [59]
An imperfect copy is at Yale.

- A choice collection of songs. Suffield. [60]
 Advertised 30 May 1798 as "first published."
- Jovial songster. 4th edition. Baltimore, printed for Henry S. Keatinge. [61]
 Evans 33943; Minick 435; Sonneck-Upton, p. 218. Advertised 15 Aug. 1798 as "for sale."
- The jovial songster. 4th edition, with additions. New York, printed and sold by John Harrison [*sic*]. [62]
 Listed in a book catalogue issued by H. V. Button of Waterford, N. Y.
- The merry companion. Boston, printed and sold by J. White. [63]
 Evans 34100; Sonneck-Upton, p. 259. Frequently listed as: The whim of the day. An imperfect copy is in Boston PL.
- The nightingale; or charms of melody. Baltimore, printed for Henry S. Keatinge. [64]
 Evans 34237; Minick 449; Sonneck-Upton, p. 297. Advertised 15 Aug. 1798 as "for sale."
- Paddy's resource. New York, printed by R. Wilson. [65]
 Evans 34290; Sonneck-Upton, p. 324. An imperfect copy is in AAS.
- The patriotic songster for July 4th, 1798. Baltimore, printed and sold at S. Sower's printing office. [66]
 Evans 34314; Minick 452; Sonneck-Upton, p. 327. Advertised 2 July 1798 as "to be published tomorrow." A possible fragment is in AAS.
- The temple of harmony, and songster's pocket companion. Baltimore, H. S. Keatinge. [67]
 Minick 411.
- 1799: Little robin red breast. Worcester, printed by Isaiah Thomas, Jr. [68]
 Evans 35735.
- Mother Goose's melody. 3rd Worcester edition. Worcester, printed by Isaiah Thomas, Jr. [69]
 Evans 35847; Sonneck-Upton, p. 269. An imperfect copy is in AAS.
- The volunteer songster, or vocal remembrancer for 1799. Baltimore, printed by Thomas Dobbin. [70]
 Evans 36662; Minick 547. Advertised 29 Jan. 1799 as "for sale."
- 1800: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1800. Philadelphia, William Y. Birch. [71]
- Buck's delight; or a pill to purge melancholy. New York. [72]
- The festival of mirth, and American tar's delight. New York, printed for Thomas B. Jansen & Co. [73]
 Evans 37420; Sonneck-Upton, p. 141. An imperfect copy is in Boston PL and a fragment is in LC.
- The jovial songster. Boston, printed by J. White. [74]
 Evans 38110; Sonneck-Upton, pp. 219, 296. Frequently listed as: Newest fashion. A mutilated copy is in AAS.

- The republican harmonist. By D[aniel] E[bsworth]. Philadelphia. [75]
Evans 37343; Sonneck-Upton, p. 352.
- 1801: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1801. Philadelphia, Wil- [76]
liam Y. Birch.
- The democratic songster. Baltimore, printed for Keatinge's book store. [77]
Bristol 18; Shaw 407. An imperfect copy is at Harvard.
- 1802: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1802. Philadelphia, Wil- [78]
liam Y. Birch.
- An oration delivered at Shaftsbury. By Anthony Haswell. Bennington, [79]
printed by A. Haswell.
- Spargo 117. John Spargo's imperfect copy is now in AAS.
- 1803: The Carolina harmonist. Charleston, published by Crow & Query. [80]
Shaw 3954. Imperfect copies are at Duke and Brown.
- 1804: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1804. Philadelphia, Wil- [81]
liam Y. Birch.
- Patriotic medley. Baltimore, 1804 or earlier. [82]
Perhaps a ghost of Evans 38195.
- 1805: The sentimental songster. Bennington, Haswell & Smead, printers. [83]
An imperfect copy is in Vermont State Lib.
- The town & country song-book. 1st Baltimore edition. Baltimore, [84]
printed by Warner & Hanna.
- An imperfect copy is at Harvard.
- 1806: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1806. Philadelphia, [85]
printed by John Bioren for William Y. Birch.
- The comic songster, or a pill for care. Baltimore, G. Dobbin & Murphy. [86]
Bristol 435. Advertised 1 Feb. 1806 as "just published."
- The complete modern songster, or vocal pocket companion. Philadelphia, [87]
printed and published by B. Graves.
- An imperfect copy is at Columbia.
- The jovial songster, no. 1. By Stephen Jenks. Dedham, 1806 or earlier. [88]
- 1807: The military songster, and soldier's camp companion. Baltimore, Fryer [89]
& Rider.
- Bristol 562. Advertised 15 Aug. 1807 as "this day published."
- 1808: The American ladies pocket book for the year 1808. Philadelphia, [90]
printed by John Bioren for William Y. Birch.
- 1809: Alexandria songster. 1809 or earlier. [91]
Advertised May 1809 as "for sale."
- The American vocal companion. Hudson, printed for H. Steel. [92]
An imperfect copy is at New-York Hist. Soc.

- 1810: The sky-lark, or gentlemen & ladies' vocal magazine. Otsego, printed and sold by H. & E. Phinney, Jr. [93]
 An imperfect copy is at Brown; another imperfect copy was in the possession of Lawrence B. Romaine in 1952.
- 1811: The American lady's pocket book for the year 1811. Philadelphia, William Y. Birch. [94]
 The New-York songster. New York, printed by George Forman for Christian Brown. [95]
 An imperfect copy is at Lib. Co. Phila.
- 1812: The American lady's pocket book for the year 1812. Philadelphia, William Y. Birch. [96]
 The Columbian songster. Baltimore, printed and sold by William Warner. [97]
 An imperfect copy is at Brown.
 The syren. Washington, published by W. Cooper. [98]
 An imperfect copy is in AAS.
- 1813: The American lady's pocket book for the year 1813. Philadelphia, William Y. Birch. [99]
 The Columbian naval songster . . . songs . . . in honor of the four great naval victories. New York, Edward Gillespy. [100]
 A variant title, reading "in honor of the five great naval victories," is known. The above was copyrighted in New York by Gillespy 16 Mar. 1813; the "five great naval victories" item was copyrighted 6 Apr. 1813.
- 1814: The American lady's pocket book for the year 1814. Philadelphia, William Y. Birch. [101]
 Columbian songster. Philadelphia. [102]
 Sabin 14880.
 The sky lark. Hudson, printed by Ashbel Stoddard. [103]
 Imperfect copies are at Brown and New-York Hist. Soc.
- 1816: The sky-lark. Hartford, printed and published by B. & J. Russell. [104]
 An imperfect copy is at Brown.
- 1817: The American lady's pocket book for the year 1817. Philadelphia, A. Small. [105]
 The new American songster. Philadelphia, printed by D. Dickinson. [106]
 An imperfect copy is at Brown.
 Songster, or ladies' vocal companion. Pittsburgh, Cramer & Spear. 1817 or earlier. [107]
 The star. Pittsburgh, published by Butler & Lambdin. [108]
 An imperfect copy is at Brown.
 Unparalleled sufferings of John Coustos. Boston, printed for the purchasers. [109]
 An imperfect copy is at the Scottish Rite Supreme Council Lib.

The village songster. Haverhill, printed by Burrill and Tileston. [110]

An imperfect copy is in AAS.

1818: Magazine of wit, and American harmonist. Philadelphia, published by M'Carty and Davis. [111]

Imperfect copies are in AAS and at Brown.

1819: The songster's museum. By A[ngus] Umphrville. New York. [112]

Copyrighted 8 Feb. 1819 by Umphrville in New York.

1820: The post-chaise companion, or magazine of wit. By Carlo Convivio Socio, Jr. 1st edition. Philadelphia. 1820 or earlier. [113]

IRVING LOWENS

Hyattsville, Maryland

An Unrecorded German Translation

Brittische Apocalypse (Die), oder die Offenbarung eines guten Britten, welcher weder fuer, noch gegen die Opposition war, der seine Nation liebte, und ueber dessen Erniedrigung nachsann. Von Joh. Friedrich Guillus la Croix. Small 4to. Pp. 86. "London" 1784.

This is a scarce and curious political allegory on the American Revolution, apparently unknown and hitherto undescribed. It appears to be a literal translation of a French original entitled *L'Apocalypse Britannique* . . . "Londres" 1782 (Sabin 1759—listed but apparently not seen), of which there is a copy in NYPL acquired in 1900. The full title of the NYPL copy is: *L'Apocalypse Britannique ou la Révélation d'un bon Breton qui n'étois ni pour ni contre l'oposition, qui aimoit sa nation, & réfléchissoit sur son humiliation*. "Londres" 1782. 8vo. Pp. 74. The present German translation of two years later carries an author's name as given above, but whether this is pseudonymous or not we cannot establish. In both editions the place of imprint is spurious: the French version is clearly French printing, while the present is equally obviously of German origin.

The allegory is in the form of a dream in which one John, a Politician, is visited by an angel and commanded to write down all he sees in the ensuing vision. Some of the principal figures in the allegory are: The Golden Leopard (King of England); the Thirteen Young Women (the American colonies); the Hound (Lord Bute); the Fox (George Fox); the Ship of Coral (the English Fleet); the Ship of Lapis Lazuli (the French Fleet); the Ship of Gold (the Spanish Fleet); etc. Unlike the French version of two years earlier, this German edition carries a printed list of the allegorical figures with their various identities.

DOUGLAS G. PARSONAGE

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Book Reviews

ALDEN, JOHN. *The Muses Mourn: A Checklist of Verse Occasioned by the Death of Charles II*. Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1958. vii, 62 pp.

The Muses Mourn is a convenient checklist of the verse written at the death of Charles II. The entries appear in alphabetical order, accompanied by a list of libraries where each item may be found; appended is an index of first lines, cross-referenced by page number to the entries themselves. As Mr. Alden states in his Introduction, the checklist reveals a considerable body of verse composed at the death of the King, and at the same time extends our bibliographical knowledge.

That the demise of so popular a monarch as Charles II should call out a spate of commendatory verse is hardly surprising. Friends like John Dryden and Thomas Flatman, who had written before in behalf of the King's cause, would be expected to compose a few adulatory lines at the death of their sovereign. What is surprising is the praise of his religious enemies, such as William Penn. In *The Quakers Elegy*, a small folio of four pages, Penn praised Charles II for his generosity and made it appear that the Quakers had brought some of their troubles upon themselves. Several lines show a toleration remarkable even for such a great exponent of religious freedom:

Though finding us a stiff, Misguided Crew,
Yet daily still His Love he did renew,
And moderates the *Rigour* of the Law,
Which our *selfwill* doth hourly on us Draw,
And doth consent the *Pennsylvanian* Shore
We may possess, and tempt his Laws no more.¹

Charles II had, of course, eased the rigidity of the Clarendon Code by his Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, and had liquidated a debt to Penn by a land grant in the New World. But to hear the author of *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience Once More Briefly Debated & Defended* admiring Charles is somewhat startling. On matters of Church and State, the King and William Penn stood almost directly opposed; yet Penn obviously had a warm spot in his heart for the man whose principles he so often, and with such vigor, opposed.

Such warmth among ideological enemies allows us to read a little more accurately the effusions of the King's political friends. One would expect Tories to invoke the Divine Right of Kings, and to speak of the prayers and tears of the Church. Most of the verses hew to the line that characterized the Cavalier-

¹ London, 1685, pp. 2-3.

Church party shortly after it came into being following the Coronation in 1661. One would expect also a great amount of extravagant praise. But through the stale recital of Tory positions and through the conventional compliments a note of genuine grief can often be heard, such as in the verses of Aphra Behn; and John Crowne perhaps expressed what was uppermost in many minds and hearts when he said of the King:

He lov'd not Men, but folly to defeat
That enslav'd Men, he'd have his Subjects great,
And that true greatness to a Monarch brings,
Charles rul'd free men, and was a King of Kings.²

William, Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, who paid with their lives for their supposed implication in the Rye House Conspiracy, would no doubt have challenged such a characterization; but the sincerity of Crowne's assessment can hardly be questioned. Charles II commanded a personal following rare among Stuart monarchs.

The body of verse, then, made available by Mr. Alden's checklist is not simply of bibliographical but also of biographical interest. The verses, by themselves, tell little new about Charles II, either as the King or as a man. But taken together they recapture something of the personality, something of the acumen and of the charm that attracted so many of his subjects. Other such lists about important men in the seventeenth century might lend further perspective to the age and to the men who made it so colorful.

GEORGE F. SENSABAUGH

Stanford University

FABER DU FAUR, CURT VON. *German Baroque Literature: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Yale University Library*. Bibliographical Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958. xlii, 496 pp. \$15.00.

The seventeenth century and its literature, especially that of Germany, have been in the forefront of interest among literary scholars for more than forty years. Yet the history of this scholarship and its published conclusions show, on the one hand, a disappointing inconclusiveness and tentativeness, and on the other, a strong speculativeness which indulges in bold generalizations: to validate these, exemplars—men and works—could always be found handily in this turbulent and tragic century. Attempts to arrive at some sort of meaningful definitive synthesis of the Baroque in literature such as the efforts of Ermatinger,

² *A Poem, On the Lamented Death of our Late Gracious Sovereign* (London, 1685), p. 13.

Cysarz, Günther Müller, Eloesser, and Hankamer, have suffered from many things but particularly from the hopeless effort to deal simultaneously with too many divergent problems: baroque style, baroque psychology, baroque "Problematik," philosophical and religious predispositions, and the like. The result has been, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, a confusing heterogeneity of "interpretations" into which too many seventeenth-century authors and products simply do not fit.

The weaknesses here recounted have been observed and decried of late years in an increasing number of publications, notably—to mention only one such effort—Professor Lunding's "Forschungsbericht" of some years ago. Indeed the almost ruthless clearing and repudiating recommended and practiced by him had become an urgent need if baroque scholarship was not to run dry in the wastes of mere terminology, or become meaningless in its reiteration of undefined critical concepts. But rejection of that which has been done, however deserved and valid this rejection may be, is not constructive interpretation.

It is thus understandable, though regrettable, that recent contributions to the discussion of seventeenth-century art have largely abandoned the effort to give composite accounts—coherent analyses of a whole century of literary and artistic culture. True—collections of essays on the Baroque in the different arts and in "Geistesgeschichte" such as *Aus der Welt des Barock* (Richard Alewyn *et. al.*) and *Die Kunstformen des Barockzeitalters* (Rudolf Stamm, editor—each essay by a person knowledgeable in a particular area) have illuminated the Baroque in its various modes of expression. But again, variety of treatment has not succeeded in isolating, with meaningful critical differentiation, that unique baroque feature which ought to be discernible in the different arts—that is, if the concept "Baroque" has indeed a status comparable to that of, for example, Classicism and Romanticism. The persistence of the term would suggest that it has such a status, though precise definition and common acceptance of meaning may be wanting.

It is this halting and lame quality, this inadequacy of traditional baroque scholarship, that makes Professor von Faber's beautiful volume such a welcome addition. Although its modest subtitle, "A Catalogue of the Collection in the Yale University Library," is true enough as a description of what lies between its covers, the work is much more than this. The author's achievement is rather a superb vindication of an organic, we might say, an *inductive* method of presenting "literary history based on a catalogue of a collection of books." That is to say, the author has abandoned prejudging and preclassifying an entire age; instead he has shown how the conscientious literary historian and critic may himself set about the systematic analysis and synthesis of baroque literature by showing him what he is to consult, what is the history of each man and each literary

work, what common currents become visible when these men and works are juxtaposed, and, incidentally, what magnificent firsthand resources are available to the American scholar. The book is at the same time a presentation and description of many publications of such variety and of so rich abundance as to delight the bibliophile's heart. What care has gone into this collection and what devotion into the preparation of this volume! Professor von Faber's book gratifies both the scholar and the book lover.

The work consists of Preface, Introduction, twenty-three chapters of discussion of individual works and men, and exceedingly complete and valuable indexes (authors, composers, and illustrators).

The concise introductory essay sets the critical orientation for the work. In his treatment of men and ideas Professor von Faber goes his own way. The results are gratifying. The reader is spared the tedious repetition of statements and biases which are by now stereotypes: that, for example, the chief and universal quality of baroque lyric poetry can be handily comprised in single words—Gongorism, Marinism, or "Schwulst." In examining the intense preoccupation with lyric form in seventeenth-century German poetry, the author associates it with the almost desperate need of the baroque poet to impose order on a world which, both in its outer and inner manifestations, was threatening to collapse into chaos. Formally and psychologically this meant for the poet the forcible establishing of "distance between poet and poem," thus an act of intellectual and spiritual self-preservation. The author's discussion here transcends mere formal questions: he properly associates the passion for form with a psychological and spiritual need which has profound existential roots.

The figure of Opitz also achieves long overdue justice: his often alleged inferiority as a poet (*i.e.*, the inferiority of his poetry to the bulk of contemporary German lyric production) makes way for a fairer and more accurate estimate of his great achievement: the formal and linguistic pioneering which needed to be done before a language and a tradition were created adequate for a Goethe and a Hölderlin. Also, the ten lines or so on Andreas Gryphius (page xxxvii of the Introduction) penetrate to the real dynamic of this psychologically and philosophically tortured personality as it is revealed in the "truly cosmic and almost defiant anguish which stripped itself bare before God's throne."

The body of the book is a panoramic survey, by way of a detailed description of nearly 1900 seventeenth-century items, of a whole century of German culture: literature, theology, religion. The books treated are classified according to a number of categories, such as Musician Poets, Religious Poetry, Courtly Romance, and the like. No significant area of seventeenth-century literary expression and scholarship is lacking in the Yale collection, nor in this volume. Each section or chapter is introduced by a brief essay which gives necessary informa-

tion and takes a clear-cut interpretative stand on that which is to come. Highly condensed but informative paragraphs on authors are interspersed throughout the book and testify to the ripe erudition of the author. An interpretation of the Baroque does emerge—but—from the facts, not from speculative constructions. The bibliographical knowledge exhibited in this book is vast; for this reason the present volume is indispensable for the baroque scholar. Professor von Faber, the many persons who had a hand in bringing this work to the public, and the Yale University Press, are to be congratulated on this splendid achievement.

CLARENCE K. POTT

University of Michigan

HARROD, LEONARD MONTAGUE. *The Librarians' Glossary: Terms Used in Librarianship and the Book Crafts*. London: Grafton and Co., 1959. 2nd ed., 322 pp. 18s.

When, some years ago, *The Librarians' Glossary* went out of print, the decision was made not to reprint but to revise and enlarge the work, to update it to include the advances made in librarianship since the 1938 edition.

This second edition is the result of that decision. The purpose of the glossary has remained essentially to cover the terms used in librarianship and the book crafts; but the scope has been broadened to include other terms encountered by librarians in their work. The new edition contains some 1,200 (75 per cent) more entries than the first edition.

To find words that might well have been included (e.g. *agate*, *all published*, *armorial binding*, *kill*, *lambskin*, and *laminated*); to note inconsistencies in spelling (e.g. *ajouré*—pp. 15, 309, and *ajuré*—p. 175); or to say that there is an entry for *prima* but no cross reference to the more usual "catchword" is, perhaps, to quibble. More serious flaws occur when the definitions of included words are inadequate or inaccurate. A thoroughgoing definition of *hand press* would properly include mention of the control of the inking process; the definitions of *half-sheet work*, *sheet work* "work and back," *sheetwise*, *work and tumble*, and *work and turn* becloud rather than clarify. The definition of *italic* is wholly unsatisfactory: to begin the definition by calling it a sloping type neglects the existence of both sloping roman and vertical italic which, in fact, do exist. Correctness would demand that the definition include mention of the variant letter forms from the roman, the usual closeness of fit of the type, and the varying weights of parts of the letter from the italic's origin in calligraphy.

While the low price of the book places it clearly within the student's budget, one could wish that pronunciation had been indicated and, esthetically, that

something other than un-letterspaced large capitals had been used for the catchwords.

This book may prove to be a useful addition to the librarian's reference shelf; but I, for one, eagerly look forward to the glossary now being compiled by John B. Nicholson, Jr.

GERALD M. STEVENSON, JR.

The State University of Iowa

LESAGE, LAURENT. *L'oeuvre de Jean Giraudoux; essai de bibliographie chronologique*. Paris: Nizet; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Library, 1956. 48 pp.

LESAGE, LAURENT. *L'oeuvre de Jean Giraudoux, II*. University Park, Pennsylvania State University Library, 1958. 188 pp. (mimeographed).

Professor LeSage, of Pennsylvania State University, has already established himself as a Giraudoux scholar of sound repute. His studies of this French author, in particular those dealing with his style and use of metaphors, have received warm praise from critics in this country and in France. While preparing these studies, Professor LeSage accumulated a vast number of bibliographical facts which he now presents in two volumes.

The first of these volumes is, as the title indicates, a chronological bibliography of the works of Jean Giraudoux from 1904 through 1955. In it are found listed all the articles, essays, novels, and plays of that author that appeared during fifty-one years. The different editions of each work are given, and articles or stories that were used subsequently under other titles are indicated. Thus, a lecture or a magazine article which later became the preface to a study of the contemporary theater, for example, is listed under the year of its first appearance and is followed by the number of its second, or third, listing. These cross references make it a simple matter for a researcher to trace the evolution of a particular article since Professor LeSage has also taken care to indicate whether there were any changes in the several publications.

Most of the adaptations or translations of Giraudoux' plays and novels into the English language are listed. However, Christopher Fry's *Tiger at the Gates* (N. Y., Oxford University Press, 1955), an adaptation of *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*, is not included. It would be of great interest, if, later on, there could be added to this helpful compilation the translations of Giraudoux into other languages, e.g. Enrique Diez-Cañedo's *Siegfried* (Madrid, 1930).

At the end of the volume there is a five-page index of the principal titles listed, each followed by a number referring to its primary listing.

The second volume is intended as a "practical guide of a provisory nature." It lists all the books and articles that have been written about Giraudoux from 1909 to 1955 in France, in the other European countries, in England, in Egypt, and in North and South America. It is an ambitious undertaking and the author recognized that there are bound to be lacunae and omissions which he hopes to correct in subsequent additions. Hence this volume is mimeographed and not printed.

As in the first volume, Professor LeSage has listed the items in chronological fashion and has included for most of them a brief description of the contents. Thus the reader can see at a glance how Giraudoux was evaluated from year to year by different critics. It is particularly interesting to note that the first favorable review given to Giraudoux was in the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, in June 1909, by André Gide. These summaries of critical articles should prove of great value to anyone doing research on Giraudoux.

Three indices follow the critical bibliography. The first lists all the authors whose works are mentioned in the bibliography, the second lists the works of Giraudoux, and the third contains the subject matters dealt with in the critical articles.

Professor LeSage is to be congratulated for a job well done. Even though, as he has stated, there are omissions, particularly in the second volume, nevertheless these two compilations will prove of immense value to all who are interested in twentieth-century French literature.

JACQUES HARDRÉ

University of North Carolina

RAMAGE, DAVID, ET AL., COMPS. *A Finding List of English Books to 1640 in Libraries in the British Isles*. (Excluding the National Libraries and the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.) Durham: G. Bailes & Sons, 1958 (Publication of the Council of the Durham Colleges). xiv, 101 pp. 2£.

Although Mr. Ramage in his helpful and important preface argues against "The English Bishop" as a short title for his finding list, it seems in order to make a few comparisons of a not necessarily invidious nature between his work and W. W. Bishop's *A Checklist of American Copies of "Short-Title Catalogue" Books*. Both works are arranged in the same manner; the items are listed by STC numbers followed by symbols for libraries. Bishop's work records the holdings of a hundred libraries; Ramage's, of 144 libraries. Both works attempt, somewhat tentatively, to record variants and other issues, and both contain supplementary lists of items not found in STC. The purpose of both studies is the same:

to supply a convenient, up-to-date guide for scholars to the location of copies of early English printed works.

Ramage's *Finding List* stems from his paper read in 1953 at a meeting of the Standing Conference of National and University Libraries suggesting that a survey of British research libraries was necessary to the success of a coöperative purchase project to secure and preserve early books. Ramage was subsequently appointed to a committee to compile a list similar to the Bishop *Checklist*. Ramage's *Finding List* was financed by pre-publication subscriptions which were so numerous that the cost of printing was paid for out of early receipts. "Of the edition of 611 less than 100 now remain," Ramage reported in February 1959.

The core of the Ramage *Finding List* is stc holdings of the University Libraries in the British Isles. To this core were added only those lists of holdings which were "volunteered or readily available." These additions include findings from forty-four municipal public libraries, twenty-seven cathedral libraries, several public school libraries, and miscellaneous sources such as the Harrow Meteorological Office and the London library of the British Medical Association. Of course, many libraries of all kinds have not taken part in Ramage's project. Since Oxford, Cambridge, the British Museum, and the National Libraries of Scotland and Wales have their own finding lists, these libraries were not included in the project. The Ramage *Finding List*, however, is by no means meager; it assigns over 14,000 items to over 37,500 locations. It also includes a supplementary list which locates 312 items not found in stc.

Some reservations, all of them noted in Ramage's preface, should be made. Since his *Finding List* is mainly based not upon the books themselves, but upon an irregular array of reports submitted by librarians of varying degrees of familiarity with stc, the listing of variants must be used with caution. This same caution must be observed in dealing with the supplementary list of items not found in stc, for some of these items may be other issues rather than entirely "new." It is also possible that an item listed in the supplement can be found in stc hidden under an unexpected or inappropriate heading. Ramage's system of symbols for libraries—a system of his own making—is occasionally inconsistent and perhaps unnecessarily complex, but one should remember that the range of libraries with which he worked was wide, extending from the library of St. Bernard Abbey at Charnwood to the library of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre to the Liverpool Public Library.

But these reservations should not deter the careful scholar. The Ramage *Finding List* is a valuable and highly useful tool which should appreciably aid the research of both British and American scholars.

ROBERT A. BRYAN

University of Florida

WORMALD, FRANCIS, and WRIGHT, C. E., eds. *The English Library before 1700: Studies in Its History*. London: The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1958. xi, 273 pp. (Published in the U. S. by Essential Books at \$5.60.)

With two exceptions, the chapters which comprise this book were delivered as lectures in the springs of 1952 and 1954 at the School of Librarianship, University College, London. The exceptions are a brief and readable essay on the development of English libraries by Raymond Irwin, the Director of the School, and another on the contents of the medieval library by Professor R. M. Wilson of the University of Sheffield. As stated in the Preface, *The English Library before 1700* is not "a comprehensive treatment of the whole history of the earlier growth of the English library"; but, as suggested by the subtitle, the book is a "group of related individual studies."

As Professor Irwin observes in his "General Introduction," the history of English libraries is linked closely with the history of scholarship, and the antecedents of libraries in England lie deep in ancient cultures in Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome, and in Christian libraries in Asia Minor, Italy, and Northern Europe. In view of this catholic approach, it is surprising that the volume contains no chapter on the celebrated early collections at Wearmouth, Jarrow, and at York which are so closely identified with the careers of Bede and of Alcuin; instead, the essays are concerned mainly with library developments in the late middle ages and in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts. Although abundant detail in several of the essays makes wearisome reading, others, such as "The Bibliography of the Manuscript Book" by G. S. Ivy, cover complicated subjects in admirable fashion. Historians rightly seek to explain the origins of present practices, but C. H. Talbot must have been unmindful of the use made of Roman libraries when he attributed our notions of lending books to the influence of the friars on medieval university libraries (p. 80). Medieval library history is hardly a sprightly subject, but the reader of J. C. T. Oates' essay on early libraries at Cambridge will enjoy his treatment of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, "a learned but splenetic German" (p. 231).

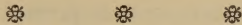
The English Library before 1700 is carefully printed; citations appear at the ends of chapters; and references to the excellent plates appear in the margins beside pertinent paragraphs. A noteworthy feature of the index to persons, places, and subjects is the list (under "Manuscripts") of documents mentioned throughout the book. The volume is singularly free of the annoying errors which often appear in works as detailed as these essays on early English library history.

LESLIE W. DUNLAP

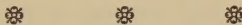
The State University of Iowa

News and Notes

About 175 BSA members and guests were present at the annual meeting held at The Grolier Club on the afternoon of 22 January to hear A. N. L. Munby, Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, speak on "The Acquisition of Manuscripts by Institutional Libraries." This address, which was gracefully and wittily delivered by Mr. Munby, is printed in this issue of the *Papers*. Responses to Mr. Munby's address were made by F. B. Adams, Jr., John D. Gordan, and William A. Jackson. The new officers of the BSA are listed on the inside front cover of this issue: Miss Frances Hamill is a new member of the Council. At this writing, plans for the next general BSA meeting are still tentative; it is hoped, however, that the Middle Atlantic Section will be able to hold a meeting in Princeton about 12-14 May, for these dates and the place will coincide with the annual meeting of the Manuscript Society.



Letters and papers of John Dickinson (1732-1808), author of a number of state papers and political pamphlets and a leader in the governments of both Delaware and Pennsylvania, are being collected for publication by Leon de Valinger, Jr., Archivist of Delaware. Duncan Brockway, 9 Witherspoon Street, Princeton, New Jersey, is preparing an analytical bibliography of pamphlets and books printed in connection with the Roman Catholic-Protestant controversy during the reign of James II (1685-88).



The freighter bearing the touring exhibition of "Modern German Book Design" from the Klingspor-Museum in Offenbach-am-Main arrived in Boston (via Rotterdam, Iceland, and Hoboken) on Sunday morning, 20 September, with the seven-hundred-pound exhibition packed under fifteen hundred tons of miscellaneous freight. Hans A. Halbey, Director of the Museum, aided by the Director of Libraries at Boston University, Robert E. Moody, managed to get the exhibits to the Chenery Library at BU by Tuesday, and by Wednesday morning Dr. Halbey had the exhibition installed; he rested in the afternoon and gave a lecture that evening. After three hours of packing on Friday afternoon it was ready, by 6 P.M., for shipment to the Brooklyn Public Library by Railway Express. The arrival in Brooklyn was a turning point for the traveling exhibition, for here the incomplete travel plans, the tight schedule, and financial difficulties came to the attention of the Rockefeller Foundation, which lent its generous support and arranged a showing of portions of the exhibition in

New York City at the Donnell Library of The New York Public Library. From then on things were relatively simple and the show was seen by many thousands in Washington, D. C., Lexington, Chicago, Berkeley, and Los Angeles; Dr. Halbey was able to make a side trip to Mexico City.

The Klingspor-Museum was founded in 1953 by the town council of Offenbach with the famous private collection of the typefounder, Karl Klingspor, as its nucleus. It is the only institution in the world which collects and exhibits exclusively the international modern art of book design, typography, calligraphy, and bookbinding. One hundred and fifteen books and sixty-four sheets of calligraphy, drawings, and other illustrative material were selected for this American tour and prominent among these were bindings by Ignatz Wiemeler, calligraphy by Rudolf Koch, Ernst Schneider, and Rudo Spemann, and books illustrated by Max Beckmann, Oskar Kokoschka, Aristide Maillol, and Gunter Böhmer. At Christmas time these items were back in the Museum, but American friends received an attractive holiday announcement of Klingspor's annual exhibition of the best children's books from more than twenty-two countries. The illustrations on this announcement are printed in color on library buckram and show children being transported by rocking horse and in a crib on wheels; these gentle forms of locomotion may have suggested themselves to Dr. Halbey after his whirlwind tour through the United States.



If the necessary funds, space, and time can be found, this department proposes to issue a calendar (probably each month) of events in the bibliographical world. It will, at times, spill over into the worlds of art and literature and will also try to include conferences and symposia in which some bibliographical elements are present. Meetings, exhibition openings, lectures, and, whenever possible, dates of visits of bookmen from other countries will be listed in as much detail as is procurable. The purpose of this calendar will be to inform interested members of the BSA of events of interest throughout the United States; its success will depend on the amount of information sent to this department at the earliest possible moment by those same interested members. Advance listing of this sort may prevent some conflicts in dates and it will keep members informed about what is going on in other cities which they may visit. (Comment is invited.)



The dedication ceremonies of the Clifton Waller Barrett Library will be held at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, on the afternoon of 30 April. Mr. John Cook Wyllie, Virginia's Librarian, will address the guests and Presi-

dent Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., will accept the Barrett Library for the University. Following the ceremonies a reception will be held by the Trustees of the Tracy W. McGregor Library, which is to American history what the Barrett Library is to American literature. Mr. Barrett wrote an extended description of his great collection for the Autumn, 1956, issue of *The Book Collector*. At that time he estimated that he had brought together some 25,000 volumes and about 35,000 manuscripts and letters. The present estimate, less than four years later, according to Mr. Barrett, is approximately 200,000 pieces, counting each book title, manuscript, and letter separately, and the enthusiasm of the collector continues unabated. Among the outstanding acquisitions since 1956 are substantial groups of letters from Charles Brockden Brown, Cooper, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Bret Harte, and Mark Twain, and manuscripts of Irving, Cooper, Twain, and Henry James. The copy of *Nature* which Emerson inscribed to his mother has joined the copies of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, *Walden*, *Battle Pieces*, and *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* which the authors of these books presented to their mothers. There are three variant manuscripts and the dedication copy of *Jurgen*, written by that William and Mary man, James Branch Cabell, and, to extend neighborliness across the Appalachians, there is the only "first" in the United States of Gilbert Imlay's *The Emigrants*, the first Kentucky novel. Mr. Barrett plans to have a descriptive catalogue of the contents of the Collection ready by 30 April; since this date falls during Garden Week in Virginia, it seems only fair to remark that in the Barrett Library the University has the fairest of blooms and the hardiest of perennials.

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